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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the dual relationship Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) students at Kentucky community colleges have with their institution as provider of academic education and as a social service agency. JTPA is an employment training program that focuses on securing employment for the unemployed. JTPA provides the financial means for short-term job training for in-demand occupations. Recipients are unemployed, economically disadvantaged adults, youth, and dislocated workers. The federal government assumes a minimal role in the program, which is largely the responsibility of state and local governments. The author interviewed 16 JTPA participants during their third and fourth semesters at the community college. Students were contacted again three months and 6 months after their designated graduation date. The author aimed to discover if the students' situations had changed after their 3-month follow-up, once the scaffolding of financial and emotional support offered by the program was removed. Some of the participants were experiencing setbacks. However, all students believed setbacks would be temporary, and that their lives had improved as a result of the program. The author found there to be a forced satisfaction with the program due to an unequal distribution of power. The dissertation argues for JTPA offering a bachelor's degree in order to allow true participation in the workforce. Research instrument is appended. (Contains 81 references.) (NB)

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DON'T LOOK A GIFT HORSE IN THE MOUTH: SOCIAL APPEASEMENT IN THE LIVES OF CLIENT-STUDENTS IN KENTUCKY COMMUNITY COLLEGES

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

Susan Bohannon Edington

The Graduate School

University of Kentucky

2000

DON'T LOOK A GIFT HORSE IN THE MOUTH: SOCIAL APPEASEMENT IN THE LIVES OF CLIENT-STUDENTS IN KENTUCKY COMMUNITY COLLEGES

ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education
at the University of Kentucky

By

Susan Bohannon Edington

Madisonville, Kentucky

Director: Dr. Jeffrey Bieber, Associate Professor of Education

Lexington, Kentucky

2000

ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

DON'T LOOK A GIFT HORSE IN THE MOUTH:
SOCIAL APPEASEMENT IN THE LIVES OF CLIENT-STUDENTS IN
KENTUCKY COMMUNITY COLLEGES

This qualitative methods study explored the experiences of Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) students on Kentucky's community college campuses. Because these students had a dual relationship, a financial relationship to a social service agency and an academic relationship to an institution of higher education, I wondered if this relationship was complementary, contradictory, or of no consequence.

Sixteen JTPA participants were interviewed during their third and fourth semesters at the community college. I contacted the students three months after their designated graduation month and again six months after their designated graduation month. I wished to discover if students' situations had changed after their three-month follow-up and consequent termination from JTPA; hence, I followed up at the six-month point. Several of the participants' situations had changed. Once the scaffolding of financial and emotional support was removed, it became impossible for some of the participants to stay the course. Interestingly, however, all sixteen believed any setbacks were temporary, and their lives had been improved as a result of their JTPA/community

college experience; they were especially grateful to the JTPA caseworker who provided emotional and academic support during the two-year college program. While the JTPA/community college relationship appeared to be complimentary, it was determined that social appeasement, a kind of tacit adjustment to and acceptance of the social hierarchy in exchange for tangible and intangible rewards, was the force preventing social critique.

The heart of this study centered on the participants' stories. These sixteen lives were enriched by their college/JTPA experiences. During the two-year collegiate experience, their self-perceptions improved, and they perceived they had transformed certain aspects of their lives. All were appreciative of the tangible and intangible rewards, the amelioration of constraints, and all believed they had been empowered. Even when evidence pointed to the contrary, none offered critique.

This study has implications for both higher education and job training programs directed toward disadvantaged, undereducated people: Is an associate's degree sufficient to improve economic status? Should job-training programs support participants' pursuit of a bachelor's degree?

As a result of the JTPA/community college partnership, students seemed to adjust to and to accept voluntarily the American social hierarchy through social appeasement.

DON'T LOOK A GIFT HORSE IN THE MOUTH: SOCIAL APPEASEMENT IN THE LIVES OF CLIENT-STUDENTS IN KENTUCKY COMMUNITY COLLEGES

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Finally, I wish to thank my wonderful husband Dan who graciously spent countless hours on child and computer detail and my children, Jonathan and Cassie, for bearing with me during some of my "bear" days.

This dissertation represents an important milestone in my life; it would not have been possible without your support. Thank you.

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Chapter One

Transformation: Tears of Frustration, Tears of Joy

When I was fourteen I didn't go to the prom,
Instead, I helped Mother adjust to her paralyzed state--
Paralyzed from the waist down in a car crash,
the Giver became the taker--
I love my mother, so I'm not complaining,
I just never expected to become a mom at such a young age--
I dried her tears of frustration, I bathed her, I helped ten-year-old John
with math that I had forgotten years ago--
"When do you 'spect your mom will be back to work?" inquired the owner of the
restaurant,
"Well, sir, she's having another surgery to see if they can fix her legs, so I don't really
know"--
"She's my best waitress, so I surely hate to let her go, but what's a fellow to do?"
"How 'bout I take her place, just till she's back on her feet?"
"You think you can handle that and go to school too?"
"I know I can if you'll just give me a chance."

That's how I began my career.

All the regulars felt sorry for me at the restaurant, knowing about my mom and all,
They never complained when I forgot something, and they gave me more than 15%--
The wheelchair was still in use after three surgeries, lots of pain, lots of tears,
Angry that she couldn't do, angry that I could,
School became a memory--don't care--never could do school anyway--

When I was fifteen, I didn't go to the prom--
Instead, I was raped--
Someone I knew where I was babysitting,
My first sexual experience,
Betrayed like a kitten that gets its brains dashed out for sidling up to a kind voice--
Torn and bleeding, who could I tell?
Surely not Mother, she couldn't take one more bad thing--
I didn't tell anyone.

Five months passed, my privates burned, my periods stopped, I was so afraid,
I started staying out until all hours, couldn't stand my mother's tears, I was so afraid--
One night I didn't go home at all, stayed at a friend's, left Mother and ten-year-old John.
Suspecting drugs, Mother called a social worker who was there to meet me the next day I
came home for a shower,

"She's out of control, she must be sent away," is all I heard from that social worker mouth--

Yeah, she had her way, I was sent to a home for wayward girls,
Tried to make me talk in group sessions, no way Hosea!

One of the counselors was pretty cool; Mary didn't try to force herself on me,
So I told her about the rape and the problems in my private area; she held my hand while her eyes watered.
She took me to the infirmary where they told me I had been given a venereal disease that I can't pronounce and a case of venereal warts.
They had to treat me with ascorbic acid, and I'll never forget about having to put that stuff on me,
Mary lay beside me and held me while the acid destroyed the enemy.
"I am sorry," said the doctor, "but the disease has done irreparable damage to your reproductive organs; you will never have children."

When I was sixteen, I didn't go to the prom,
Instead, I was having my stomach pumped--
Released from group home, sent home to a mother who welcomed me into her wheelchair,
I tried, I really tried, to put all the pieces back where they belonged,
but it was just too much of an effort--kinda like using Elmer's glue when what you really need is cement--
So, I gorged on my mother's Loritab,
And was sent to a psychiatric hospital for several months where, thank God, they did have cement.

When I was seventeen, I didn't go to the prom,
Instead, I was healing inside and out with Mother's help--
The fourth surgery worked; my mother could walk again with the help of a cane,
Mother became the mother; I became the kid--

When I was eighteen, I didn't go to the prom--but prom days are over,
Instead, I worked on a GED and became stronger.

When I was nineteen, I passed my GED and met a man, a nice man who said he loved me,
We planned for our future, even bought some land.

When I was twenty, I became a childcare provider,
Life is funny; I can't provide children, but I can provide childcare!
Regardless, I loved working with the children, and they told me I was good at it, too!

When I was twenty-three, the Director said to me,"You know, Kayla, there's a program out at the college called JTPA that I bet you could get into that would pay for your

tuition, and I'm sure you'd qualify for financial aid. Why not check it out?"

"Me, in college? Why I've never really even been to high school! Just the thought of college makes me so scared I could puke!"
"Come on, why not at least hear what they have to say? I'll even take you myself."

When I was twenty-four, I didn't take a step backward,
Instead, I graduated from college with an associates degree in Human Services--
I'll work at a nursing home as activities director, in charge of Pet Therapy,
I'll volunteer for Rape Victim Services, I'll get married to the nice man, and we'll build a cabin on our land.

Longing for a prom grows dimmer and dimmer. Kayla, former JTPA student[1]

Introduction

In some way, Kayla's story represents the essence of the experiences of sixteen JTPA (Job Training Partnership Act) students enrolled in Kentucky community colleges. At the beginning of this study, Kayla was twenty-four, poor, enrolled full time in a community college, living at home and caring for an emotionally unstable mother and a younger brother, and working as a waitress. As witnessed in the poem, she underwent several traumatic events during what should have been her high school years. Three months after Kayla had graduated from the community college, she was working at a nursing home, performing community service as a rape counselor for a local hospital, planning to be married, and planning to enroll in a nearby four-year college to obtain her bachelor's degree in social work. Six months after graduation, Kayla had given up her job at the nursing home to work at a restaurant, and she had given up her volunteer work as a rape crisis counselor. She has not yet married because her fiancée is involved in a custody battle for his two children from a previous marriage. It appears that Kayla is no better off now than she was before she began the JTPA program.

---

[1] As is the case with all proper nouns in this study, "Kayla" is a pseudonym. In addition, even though the context of the poem is Kayla's story, the poem format is mine.

Yet something happened during the time Kayla was a client-student. Despite the limits of social forces, Kayla redescribed herself, believing she had entered a new cultural world. Was the community college a site of cultural production rather than the more commonly held view of social reproduction (Zwerling, 1976)? Did the community college/JTPA partnership provide a site for the production of a positive self-perception? Kayla's making of a new perception of herself was not an isolated occurrence; fifteen of the sixteen client-students in this study felt they had become "better" people as a result of their JTPA/community college experience.

The extent to which their self-perceptions changed depended on several factors: constraints at the beginning of the JTPA/community college partnership; the perceived tangible and intangible rewards of the JTPA experience/community college experience; and the degree of agency they believed they exhibited at the end of the two-year partnership. As evidenced by Kayla's story, Kayla entered the JTPA/community college partnership under the oppressive constraint of poverty and its consequences of physical and emotional problems, transportation problems, family problems, and lack of educational opportunity. While a client-student, she received enough financial and emotional support to enable her to tunnel through some of those oppressive constraints. She graduated from community college with no debt--quite an accomplishment for someone who had no prior experience with higher education. Through her Pell grant she was able to purchase a car; for the first time in her life, she was independently mobile. She volunteered as a rape counselor, and she interviewed and obtained a job based on her academic credentials and skills. During this time, Kayla rescripted her life.

So, what happened by the end of six months?

First, a Human Services degree offered very little financial return. Kayla started out making minimum wage as a nursing home aide. She worked a regular forty-hour week. Without the undergirding of JTPA funds for transportation and Pell grant assistance, Kayla was worse off financially working as a nurse's aide than she had been as a student. As a result, she gave up her job to waitress at a restaurant where she could make more money by working weekends only than she could working all week at the nursing home. She stopped volunteering as a rape crisis counselor because she felt slighted when she was not invited to a hospital banquet honoring volunteers. This was surely an oversight, but without the emotional support of her JTPA caseworker, she lacked the self-confidence to call and question the oversight, so she stopped volunteering. As a single and disabled parent, Kayla's mother relies on her daughter for physical and emotional support. As a result, Kayla is not free to move away to get a fresh start, as many people do upon completing a degree. How did this happen?

Kayla's personality made her a perfect candidate for the JTPA program. She is eager to help, has a positive attitude, follows the rules, exhibits a friendly and kind demeanor, takes pride in her appearance and her possessions, believes anything is possible with hard work and a little luck, and expresses gratitude for the kindnesses of other people. JTPA screens for these personality characteristics through a Characteristics Profile completed by a JTPA employee at the initial testing appointment.

Second, by her own admission, Kayla did not attend high school. She completed a GED and obviously scored at least an 8.9 grade level on reading and math skills on the TABE (Test of Adult Basic Education) as required by JTPA as an entry requirement to

the program. As a result, Kayla exhibited basic skills competency, one predictor of successful completion of the JTPA program.

Third, Kayla was assigned a caseworker who actually worked on-site at the community college, thus providing unlimited, easy access. In her interviews, Kayla spoke of the special bond that she felt with her caseworker. Her caseworker provided emotional support when Kayla's family and personal problems seemed overwhelming, and she provided academic support and intervention when Kayla had difficulty with her algebra class. Kayla depended on this caseworker for two years. Her caseworker had been a former JTPA participant, and that similarity strengthened the bond. The caseworker is a very important component of the JTPA success formula. Caseworkers become friends, confidantes, ombudspeople, and counselors to people who, because of the hard, complicated lives they have led, need a social worker in their lives.

Fourth, Kayla desired to be a social worker, so JTPA allowed her to attend a community college for two years, as opposed to a technical or trade school. This was unusual because JTPA traditionally pays for two years of training that leads immediately to a job in that field of study; however, each Service Delivery Area (SDA) ultimately makes its own decisions about training. As required by the orientation session, Kayla had to interview a potential employer to ascertain if someone would hire her with a Human Services associate's degree. The nursing home administrator indicated that she would hire someone with a Human Service degree. Once Kayla was admitted to the community college, she had to take a placement test. Kayla's scores indicated that she needed a remedial math class, so she enrolled in a pre-algebra class. At this same time, Kayla was

assigned an academic advisor based on her declared major. The Human Services program coordinator became her advisor.

Fifth, during the course of the two years at the community college, Kayla met with her caseworker on a regular basis. "Regular basis" varies depending on the SDA interpretation, but Kayla was required to meet with hers monthly; however, Kayla indicated that she dropped in frequently to visit her caseworker. After approximately a year's worth of general education courses, Kayla spent a great deal of time with the Human Services program coordinator because she taught most of the specialty classes within that degree. Classes included site visits to different environments such as nursing homes, hospitals, mental health facilities, and juvenile justice facilities. Kayla became involved with a Pet Therapy project at a nursing home and volunteered as a rape crisis counselor at the hospital. Because JTPA covered all her school and travel expenses, she was able to purchase a car with some of her PELL grant money. During this time, her mother tried to commit suicide. Her caseworker, a college secretary, and her Human Services teacher helped Kayla through it by obtaining assignments from her teachers so she would not fall behind in her classes and by offering emotional support.

It is not difficult to understand why Kayla did not complain about her life after the JTPA/community college experience. The JTPA/community college partnership satisfied needs—tangible needs such as a car, books, tuition; and intangible needs such as status, a sense of belonging, and a heightened self-esteem. She had never had needs such as these met in the past, so, of course, she would be grateful.

By JTPA standards, however, Kayla was considered a success because at the end of the three-month follow-up period after graduation, Kayla had a job in the field for

which she had been trained. As a result, Kayla was exited from the JTPA program and had been entered as "successful" for JTPA accountability purposes. Obtaining a job did not solve Kayla's problems; it merely moved her from the welfare roll. Her educational credential did not help her compete for a better job because, at best, there were only other low-level jobs for which she could compete. In fact, she could have worked as a nurse's aide without the Human Services degree; this was probably not something the nursing home administrator shared with her at the orientation interview. A Human Services degree only provides the first year of a bachelor's degree; the specialty classes are not accepted as equivalent classes at a transfer institution. If Kayla were truly on the path to a bachelor's degree, it would have been better advice for her to complete an Associate of Arts degree that would have transferred in its entirety. Perhaps JTPA and the community college knew that her chances, both financially and academically, were not optimistic for completion of a bachelor's and thus provided her with an alternative.

Upon completion of the degree, Kayla was employed at the nursing home where she had conducted her Pet Therapy project. She was paid a little more than minimum wage. At some point between three and six months after graduation, Kayla chose to leave the nursing home to return to waitressing where she could make as much working two days with tips as she could for five days at the nursing home. Neither Kayla, nor any of the other client-students in this study ever questioned, examined, or confronted JTPA or the community college regarding the likelihood of outcomes such as these, either at the end of the three-month or six-month follow up.

Is Kayla, then, any better off now than she was before she started the program? Kayla says "yes." She is proud of herself for completing a college degree; she made

some friends in college that she still sees socially; she counts her JTPA caseworker as a true friend; she's developed a hobby in reading; and she's encouraging her younger brother to go to college. There is no doubt that Kayla believes that she is a better person for having had the JTPA/community college experience. To her credit, she was institutionally successful as a client in the JTPA program, and she was academically successful as a student at the community college; these are valid accomplishments that required effort and perseverance on her part. Kayla pursued the image of an "educated" person, and she perceives that she has achieved that goal.

However, it appears that Kayla has been engaged in a kind of social compromise. Someone such as Kayla would consider it an act of disloyalty to say anything negative when she believes so much has been given to her. After all, JTPA paid for education—no matter that this "education" has not resulted in the ability or desire to critique the social or economic forces that govern the world—no matter that this credential can only be exchanged for an unskilled laborer's job—no matter that the Council on Post-Secondary Education approves and funds degrees that result in a minimum-wage return. JTPA provided a caseworker that offered her emotional and academic support for two years—no matter that dependency, perhaps, occurred, resulting in self-doubt and lack of self-reliance when the caseworker was removed from her life. Her Pell grant provided her a car, that ubiquitous symbol of freedom in American society. JTPA/community college provided a refuge from a disorganized, bleak, emotionally draining home environment. At the community college, people were nice to her, offered help; in addition, she was involved in stimulating activities such as developing a love for reading. When she left the nursing home to return to waitressing, that was her choice. JTPA or

community college did not make her do that. How could she possibly blame anyone for all she has been given? That would be like looking a gift horse in the mouth.

Her belief in the American Dream ideology—the belief that if one works hard enough, anything is possible—blinds her to the impersonal forces that affect individual destiny (MacLeod, 1987). Our capitalistic society is impersonal—the goal is to maintain the status quo of the rich staying rich and the poor staying poor (Bowles and Gintis, 1976). It's nothing personal against Kayla. It's not their fault that Kayla fills a need for unskilled labor. Community colleges, as one element of a vast educational system, are impersonal--the goal is to fill the workforce needs of the community, to protect the selective admission policies at four-year schools, to provide college opportunity in the name of democracy (Dougherty, 1994). Kayla fills a workforce need of the community, and she completed that degree; therefore, she must be successful. It's nothing personal against Kayla.

There is no design to keep Kayla locked in a complacent, working-poor economic state—or at least not at a local level. The JTPA caseworkers are people genuinely dedicated to improving the life/work situation of their clients. As a community college teacher myself, I cannot recall one colleague who does not believe he or she is helping students to achieve their goals. Based on the experiences of the client-students, however, it appears that structural forces of JTPA and the community college inhibited critique by the client-students and prompted social compromise.

In the Beginning

Since the participants were clients of JTPA-- a social service agency-- as well as

students on a community college campus-- an educational institution-- I will refer to them as "client-students" throughout the study.

As an academic advisor to many students, both client-students and non client-students, I first became intrigued with this dual role of students when one of my advisees mentioned that he had to meet with his caseworker to discuss the schedule that he and I had just developed and to get her approval before he could actually register for these classes. He happened to be a client of Bureau of Vocational Rehabilitation, and I wondered how many client-students there were on this particular campus and if they all had caseworkers whose approval had to be secured before they could take the advice of their academic advisor. In fact, I was interested in other issues: Did the caseworker impose other requirements? Exactly what was the function of the caseworker? How many client-students were enrolled in this institution? How many different social service agencies were represented? Were client students helped or hindered by this dual of client and student? Interestingly, about the same time I was advising this client-student, I had just completed a graduate course on the community college. I wondered if the environment of the community college helped or hindered the client. As a result of these ponderings, the question for this study emerged: What are client-students' experiences on Kentucky's community college campuses?

Purpose of Study

Providing client-students a "voice" is the purpose of this study. To the best of my knowledge, client-students' experiences on a community college campus have never been examined. In fact, there is no institutional research on client-students; they are simply reported in the headcount for enrollment. Even though this population is unexamined, its

volume is significant on Kentucky's community college campuses. There are three primary groups of client-students in the state of Kentucky: students funded by the Veterans Administration, students funded by the Department of Vocational Rehabilitation, and students funded by the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA). Collectively, 3213 students on Kentucky's community college campuses are client-students (as of April 1998). This figure represents 7.7% of the 41,957 total population (University of Kentucky Community College System Fact Book 1997). (See Appendix A for breakdown of numbers and colleges).

Even though the three different categories of client-students are approximately the same size, I chose to study JTPA Title IIA students because they represent a population that is of special interest to me--overwhelmingly female, economically disadvantaged, and over the age of 22. In addition, these students voluntarily enroll in this program; participation is not solicited nor is it a requirement for receiving government financial assistance.

Overview of the Job Training Partnership Act

JTPA is an employment and training program that focuses on securing employment for the unemployed. JTPA has been preceded by the following legislation:

Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA)—1960's

The Economic Opportunity Act (EOA)—1960's

Neighborhood Youth Corps—1960's

Project Mainstream—1960's

Job Corps—1960's

The Vocational Education Act (VEA)—1960's

Comprehensive Area Manpower Planning Systems (CAMPS)—1960's

The Public Employment Program (PEP)—1960's

The Emergency Employment Act (EEA)—1960's

The Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA)—1970's

Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA)—1980's

It is important to note that job-training programs are relatively young. As a result, they have not had the opportunity to become solidly institutionalized, consequently, they are susceptible to political pressure. In fact, they have been subject to revision by nearly every President (Grubb, 1991). It becomes obvious, then, in order to try to protect themselves against revision, they need accountability measures that can show significant performance-driven success.

The Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) provides the financial means for short-term job training for in-demand occupations, recipients include unemployed, economically disadvantaged adults, youth, and dislocated workers. The Act became effective on October 1, 1983, and seeks to move jobless individuals into permanent, self-sustaining employment.

JTPA greatly increases state responsibility over local operations by imposing the state as a layer between federal and local programs. Under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), employment and training programs were the joint responsibility of the federal and local governments; under JTPA, however, these programs are the responsibility of the state and local governments, with the federal government assuming a minimal role.

Together with the private sector, state and local governments have primary responsibility for development, management and administration of training programs under JTPA. The idea is to involve those individuals who are best positioned to be knowledgeable about job opportunities. Governors have approval authority over locally developed plans and are responsible for monitoring program compliance. Other specific functions of the governor include:

Appointing the State Job Training Coordinating Council

Certifying the Private Industry Councils from each Service Delivery Area (SDA)

Setting statewide goals and objectives and providing basic guidelines for the development of local area plans

Approving locally developed plans

Allocating funds to local service delivery areas

Monitoring and auditing the implementation plans

Title I of JTPA describes the coordination that takes place among state and local governments and the business community to produce partnerships that combine effective program administration and knowledge of the private-sector job market. The coordination includes the following elements.

A. State Job Training Coordinating Council is appointed by the governor and composed of representatives of business, state agencies, local government, organized labor, community-based organizations and the general public to recommend training components of the Act and play a critical role in planning employment services authorized by the Wagner-Peyser Act. In lieu of a State Job Training Coordinating Council, the state may establish a Human Resource Investment Council, which, in

addition to the above responsibilities, also reviews and coordinates other major federal and state human service programs.

B. Service Delivery Areas (SDAs) are designated by the governor to receive federal job training funds. Among the areas automatically eligible to be SDAs are those where local governments have populations of 200,000 or more. In Kentucky, there are eleven SDAs.

C. Private Industry Councils (PICs) are appointed by local, elected officials to guide and oversee job and training programs. Private Industry Councils are intended to serve as a key mechanism for bringing the private sector in the active management of job training programs. Membership includes representatives from business, education, organized labor, rehabilitation agencies, community-based organizations, economic development agencies and public employment services. The majority of the members must represent business and industry within the Service Delivery Area, and the chairperson must be a business representative.

Title II-A of JTPA authorizes training and services for the economically disadvantaged and others who face significant employment barriers. Training is provided through grants to states for local training and employment programs. States are responsible for further allocating funds to their SDAs and for overseeing the planning and operation of local programs, which are designed at the local level based on local labor market needs and opportunities. Program services include an assessment of an individual's needs and abilities and a strategy of services such as classroom training, on-the-job training, job-search assistance, work experience, counseling, basic skills training and support services.

Title II-B of JTPA offers economically disadvantaged young people ages 16-21 jobs and training during the summer. This includes basic and remedial education, work-experience programs and support services such as transportation. Academic enrichment is also a major part of the program and may include basic and remedial education.

Title II-C of JTPA provides year-round training and employment programs for youth aged 16-21, both in and out of school. Program services may include all authorized adult services, limited internships in the private sector, school-to-work transition services and alternative high school services.

Title III provides counseling, moral support, job training, job placement services, and relocation benefits to eligible dislocated workers. These are individuals who have been terminated or laid-off or who have received a notice of termination or layoff from employment; are eligible or have exhausted their entitlement to unemployment compensation, and are unlikely to return to their previous industry or occupation, have been terminated or have received a notice of termination of unemployment as a result of any permanent closure or any substantial layoff at a plant, facility, or enterprise; are long-term unemployed and have limited opportunities for employment or reemployment in the same or a similar occupation in the area in which they reside, have substantial barriers to unemployment by reason of age, or were self-employed (including farmers and ranchers) and are unemployed as a result of general economic conditions in the community in which they reside or because of natural disasters. The Rapid Response Team located in the Office of Training and Reemployment responds to plant closings and substantial layoffs by identifying the needs of workers who are or about to be laid off. The substate

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grantees, then, work to provide basic readjustment and retraining services, as defined by the Private Industry Council, to that target population.

Inarguably, individuals benefit from JTPA, but JTPA is accountable to the government. As a result, JTPA's primary function is to serve society, not individuals. For example, the PICs identify labor market needs, and client-students "choose" one of those training options that will benefit society. Because JTPA is a system operating structurally under the government, JTPA has time limitations to "show" results. Consequently, the Characteristics Profile section of the Individual Service Strategy that JTPA employees complete on prospective participants to "weed out the ones who may not complete the training" (JTPA caseworker quoted during a personal interview) becomes a necessary step to ensure programmatic success; this step is a requirement for program continuation in an era of increased accountability. Individuals' needs are inconsequential except to the extent that addressing the needs of an individual will serve the system. Although JTPA participants may infer benevolence to them personally in terms of JTPA meeting personal needs and aspirations, as was the case of all of the client-students in this study, in reality, JTPA's allegiance is to the labor market, not to the needs or aspirations of individuals. This structural manipulation of personal goals results in the production of workers, not self-supporting professionals.

Eligibility for JTPA Funding

To be eligible for Title II-A JTPA funds, an individual must be twenty-two years old and economically disadvantaged. "Economically disadvantaged" is defined by JTPA as anyone who receives or is eligible for financial assistance from the federal

government. The following steps represent a guide through the JTPA process as provided to potential JTPA clients by one of the SDAs in this study:

1. Orientation—An overview of JTPA. The orientation includes general information about JTPA, program eligibility requirements, available training programs, non-traditional employment opportunities, as well as labor market information. The application (called the JTPA Scholarship Application) is distributed, and the client completes the application and then meets with the Job Training Counselor to review the completed application. The application includes exercises for the applicant to complete prior to being certified JTPA eligible and referred to training. These exercises include identifying an occupational goal within a limited selection, visiting institutions that offer that occupational training, interviewing an employer of that occupation, and interviewing a person employed in that occupation. An applicant must also find out what the local demand is for that occupation. After a client receives orientation and successfully completes the JTPA Scholarship Application, the Job Training Counselor will refer the client to the appropriate JTPA case manager to determine JTPA eligibility.
2. Certifications are in accordance with the Kentucky JTPA Title II Eligibility Guide as issued by the Office of Training and ReEmployment. To prove eligibility, clients must bring proof of age, address, social security number, citizenship, selective service (males only), family income for the last six months, disability should that apply, and receipt of free meals should that apply.

3. If the client is certified as JTPA eligible, the case manager will then complete the JTPA Characteristics Form at this time. This form assesses generally accepted employment characteristics such as communication skills, appearance, work ethic, etc.
4. If the client gets to this point, the TABE (Test of Adult Basic Education) is administered. This tests reading and math levels. Clients must score an 8.9 grade level on this test to be accepted into the program. If clients score less than 8.9, they are referred to Adult Basic Literacy classes until an 8.9 grade level can be achieved.
5. Clients then must take the SAGE test. This is a career interest and aptitude test.
6. When the client selects a vocational goal that requires training, the JTPA Case Manager or the Job Training Counselor has the right to deny the use of JTPA funds for training if it is felt that the vocational goal is inappropriate based on the assessment data or due to the lack of a reasonable expectation of employment based on labor market information.
7. The case manager next completes an ISS (Individual Service Strategy), a document that compiles information about the client to help the case manager assist the client through the training.
8. Referral—The case manager makes the decision whether to refer the client for training.
9. Training—If referred for training, the client must complete and submit monthly time sheets. Contacts with the case manager must be regular. If

participants are in a program with a grading system, a 2.0 GPA must be maintained to continue participation. If participants are placed on academic probation or are not making satisfactory progress for one grading period, they are automatically on probation for JTPA funding. Two consecutive grading periods on academic probation automatically disqualify them for consideration of any future JTPA funding. Participants must maintain full-time status (twelve credit hours per semester). Only the case manager can authorize the dropping of a course or dropping to part-time status.

10. Toward the end of the training, the case manager discusses employment opportunities, resume, completing applications, and interviewing.
11. Job Search
12. Exiting JTPA—Ninety days after the completion of training, the case manager exits the client from all JTPA services.

It is important to note here that through the Characteristics Profile, JTPA screens for characteristics that are generally accepted as positive by employers: positive attitude, motivation, work ethic, compliance, appearance, and character. They want participants who can be successful in the JTPA program because that is how the program's accountability is measured. It is also important to note that they would desire students who expressed a belief in "anything's possible with hard work" as opposed to students jaded by negative work experiences or inclined toward critique because time is of the essence for accountability. Realistically, JTPA has two years and ninety days to prove accountability for each participant—two years of training and ninety days for obtaining and remaining on a job; therefore, participants exhibiting compliant and positive attitudes

going into the program save time and trouble for a system dedicated to the mission of producing workers.

SDAs may choose to serve up to ten percent non-disadvantaged of their total Title II-A adult participants if such individuals face serious barriers to employment. Each Private Industry Council (PIC) is responsible for determining the program participant mix, the actual providers of service, and the types of services to be offered in each service delivery area. Each SDA submits a Job Training Plan that covers a two-year period. The plan details what each SDA plans for that period. The Office of Training and Reemployment reviews each plan and, if acceptable, takes it to the state Job Training Coordinating Council for formal approval. Very importantly, then, each SDA offers a different mix of program services. The primary services offered include the following: Intake and Assessment; Case Management; Pre-Employability Skills Instruction; On-the-Job Training; Work Experience; and Skills Training (including customized training). The SDA issues a Request for Proposal (RFP) that details the funding available and the types of training it wishes to offer. Service providers complete the RFP and return it to the SDA staff for review. After that review, members of each PIC review projects submitted and vote on whether to fund that project. Therefore, the PIC makes the funding decisions. PICs also review monitoring reports and decide on sanctions for low performing contractors. Actual training providers vary with each SDA. Typical providers include technical colleges, community colleges, local school boards of education, private colleges and universities, and local businesses.

According to Bill Gaunce, Director of the JTPA program for the state of Kentucky, JTPA is 100% federal money; the Office of Training and ReEmployment in

Frankfort filters the money to its eleven service delivery areas. In Kentucky during the year 1998, 15,000 people participated in JTPA programs. Four billion dollars nationwide were spent on the JTPA programs; Kentucky's share was $60,000,000 for the 1998 fiscal year. Of the $60,000,000, the Title II-A program received $17.1 million, Title II-B received $14.8 million, Title IIC received $2.2 million, and Title III received $16.5 million. This money is not divided evenly among the SDAs; formula funding is used based on population served and number of economically disadvantaged in the SDA.

Nationwide, 65% of JTPA participants under Title IIA are welfare recipients. This means that people who receive cash public assistance, who have received food stamps for at least six months, and people who have lived with a poverty-level income for the past six months automatically qualify. The goal of the JTPA IIA program is training that leads to job placement and on a payroll within two years. A community college, technical college, or a private school may provide training. Unless there is an extenuating circumstance, two years of training is the maximum.

The maximum aid that a JTPA IIA participant can receive includes Pell grant, cash assistance, food stamps and JTPA funds for tuition, books, childcare, and transportation. The minimum funds that a participant would receive include JTPA funds for tuition, books, childcare, and transportation. The policies of some SDAs in Kentucky require students to use Pell grant money for tuition and books, and then students may use the remaining amount for other expenses. On the other hand, the policies of other SDAs allow the participants to use the entire Pell amount for living expenses. In some SDAs the participants must make a grade of "C" or better in every class they take; in others, an overall GPA of "C" is acceptable. If students make below a "C," JTPA does not have to

pay for the class or will not pay to retake a class. The governing boards of some SDAs require a strict accounting of attendance; others do not as long as the students make the grade. Even though local staff of SDAs must account for time and attendance to the state office, each handles it differently. Because the SDAs have overall accountability and responsibility, they set guidelines and procedures for their participants. The state will not tell the SDA how to distribute the money. The state office sets policy and monitors the program, but the SDA has to decide what to fund and who gets the funding because these decisions affect the state-imposed performance standards. For instance, the easier the population served (those with fewer academic and emotional needs), the higher the performance standards, so SDAs have to choose their populations carefully. Each SDA must meet performance standards. If the SDA is successful, the employees of that SDA receive monetary incentives; if the SDA fails to meet standards for two consecutive years, sanctions are imposed. Performance standards are primarily met through rate of job placement after training. After completion of job training, the client has ninety days to find a job. During that time period, the client receives training in resume writing and interviewing. The client must report weekly on the status of the job search. Thirteen weeks after the client secures a job, JTPA calls the employing agency to determine if the client is still employed. If the client is no longer working at the site, he or she is written off and will not be eligible for any further JTPA benefits. If, however, JTPA officials can prove the client fraudulently accepted funds with no intention of securing employment, JTPA will prosecute the client. Sharon Brittan of the Office of Training and ReEmployment in Frankfort reports that 75% of the JTPA students are successful at getting a job and staying on the job past the thirteen-week "check-up" period. Ideally

these jobs would correspond with their training; however, any full-time job counts as a positive outcome of the program.

Research Procedures

Since I wanted to understand and interpret how JTPA students viewed the experience of being a client of a social service agency while concurrently being a student attending a community college in Kentucky, I needed access to the multiple perspectives of the participants. My study design, therefore, focused on the in-depth interview. To supplement the interview, participants took photographs that reflected their lives.

First, I identified two Service Delivery Areas (SDAs) that each contained at least two community colleges. Since all eleven SDAs are unique in their operational regulations, students would have different JTPA agency experiences, depending upon the individual SDA. It was, therefore, important to have information from two different SDAs because those agency experiences affected the students' experiences on the community college campus. Having two community colleges from the same SDA was also important because the client-students' experiences on the college campus could be affected by the SDA interaction with the college.

Participant Selection

I contacted the SDA directors at the two SDAs that met the selection criteria. The SDA directors identified the third-semester college students at the two community colleges in their area and assigned them a number. The numbers were sent to me, and I randomly selected four of the numbers from each of the community colleges. The SDA director then matched the number to the name and secured a signed, in-house release from those students that authorized the SDA to release the students' names, addresses,

and phone numbers to me. I then called those students to explain the research and invited them to participate. Once I secured their willingness to participate, I arranged for us to meet in the library of their community college for the individual interview and to sign the consent forms.

The process went as planned for one SDA. The other SDA director misunderstood and sent me the names, addresses and phone numbers of eight, third-semester JTPA students from which she had secured a release. Because I did not know what to expect, I contacted those students and set up interviews with the thought that if the data differed significantly from the data of the random selection sample, I would start over with those eight. I found this group's data to be no more or less disparate than that of the random sample; however, I still view this departure from the original intent a limitation of the study. In total, sixteen students representing four community colleges from two SDAs were selected.

Participant Profile

At the beginning of the study, the sixteen participants ranged in age from twenty-four to forty-five. Fifteen were women and one was a man. Fourteen participants were Caucasian; one was African American; one was Asian. All were third-semester JTPA students at one of four community colleges in Kentucky. Third-semester status was an important characteristic because the client-student needed sufficient time to experience the community college as a student and to participate in JTPA as a client. Three semesters allowed reflection time for client-students to form some perceptions and opinions regarding future plans, to articulate factors that help or hinder progress toward goal attainment, and to possess sufficient sophistication to understand how the college

and the agency work. At the time of the one-hour follow-up interview, they were fourth-semester students, preparing to graduate in May 1999.

Ten of the participants were first generation college students; five were married; and they had twenty-five children among them. Majors included one Human Services, one Electronics Technology, three Office Systems, three Business Management, one Computer Technology, four Nursing, and three Associate of Arts. The names of the community colleges and the names of the participants are pseudonyms (See Appendix B for a Participant Profile Chart).

Interview Process

I first conducted one-hour individual interviews with the sixteen participants during October and November 1998 (See Appendix C for initial interview questions).

At the end of the first interview, I gave participants a disposable camera and asked them to take pictures representative of their lives. I asked them to return the camera to me within two weeks. I then had the roll developed, and the pictures became the basis for the follow-up interview as they explained their lives through the pictures. Participants were given the opportunity to look through the photos at the beginning of the interview in order to pull any photo(s) they did not wish to talk about.

I had originally planned to conduct group interviews with the four students from the same community college, but that was not feasible because of the time constraints and structure of these students' lives. As a result, I conducted one-hour individual interviews with all sixteen participants (October and November 1998), transcribed their tapes, and conducted one-hour follow-up interviews the following semester (February and March 1999) with all sixteen.

At the follow-up interview, participants received a copy of their transcripts, and participants corroborated their accuracy. The following September (1999) I mailed a copy of the preceding semester's transcript to the participants, along with a note asking them to verify the transcript's accuracy and to let me know what they were currently doing. All but one complied with my request. In the note I also explained that I would phone them in December (1999) as a last point of contact. By December, the participants would have been graduated for seven months, working, or continuing school. Since JTPA exits participants after a three-month follow-up, I wanted to see if the results at the end of seven months were consistent with the three-month results.

Coding and Analysis

I first displayed my data in a way that made sense to me--typed, double-spaced, extra-large-margined transcripts attached to poster board. On other poster boards, the photos with accompanying transcripts were arranged in the order of the participants' narrative. For me, this was the first step in bringing order and meaning to the data. I did this for each of the sixteen participants. Next, I read the transcripts of an individual participant several times, familiarizing myself as completely as possible with his/her story. Using the original set of interview questions, I addressed each question, using applicable descriptive text. Information that did not comply with my questions was added to the end of the descriptive text. I did this for each of the sixteen participants. These portions of descriptive text in answer to my interview questions became the basis for category generation. Guba (1978) reports that categories should be internally consistent but distinct from one another, representing salient, grounded categories of meaning held by the participants. The following four main categories with multiple

subcategories emerged: factors affecting how participants felt about who they were and where they were going, which I have labeled Self-Esteem, factors that rewarded them either financially or emotionally, which I have labeled Support, factors that placed constraints on participants, which I have labeled Constraints, and actions that revealed empowerment, which I have labeled Empowerment.

I next developed a code list, using my four main categories with multiple subcategories (See Appendix E for Code List). After coding the text, I constructed a chart in order to display the number of times each coding subcategory was alluded to and who had alluded to it (See Appendix D for Data Accounting Sheets). Counting provided a way to see rapidly what I had in this large quantity of data and to verify or challenge my initial impressions.

All of the stories that follow are narratives condensed from verbatim transcripts of in-depth interviews semi-modeled on the methodology of Gwendolyn Etter-Lewis (1993) in her research with African American women in the professions. Etter-Lewis believed that abbreviated life histories "preserve an individual's own words and perspectives in a particularly authentic way" (Etter-Lewis, p. xii). This process involves creating a written story from an oral interview. Two considerations arise: as originally the interviewer, I am now the editor, and I could not use all of the participants' words in their stories. Thus, I had to transform a question and answer session into first-person narratives. Second, whereas Etter-Lewis preserved the dialect of her participants because dialect was such an important part of her study, I have chosen to preserve sentence structure, vocabulary, and grammar. I have not preserved nuances of oral language such as dropped "ing" endings because I would be preserving just that one bit of oral language. All of the participants

had accents or drawls resulting in broad "A's" and "I's" in their oral language. Because I could not preserve those particular speech characteristics in written form, I elected to forgo dialect in developing the narratives.

The narratives are relatively long, but the length is necessary to reveal the clients' stories of struggle with tremendous constraints on their lives, their perseverance and commitment to a better life, and their lack of critical awareness of class structure or structural relations. As a result, the narratives reveal people committed to the idea of individual achievement, people who believed in the value and pursuit of education for a better life, and people who achieved selective aspects of cultural capital that transformed certain parts of their lives.

Trustworthiness of Data and Interpretations

Glesne and Peshkin (1992) make several suggestions regarding ensuring trustworthiness of data and interpretations: triangulation, time at research site, continual alertness to biases or subjectivity, enlisting an outsider to audit analysis and interpretation, sharing interview transcripts with participants for verification, and realizing the limitations of the study. In this study, I used one primary form of data collection--the interview. The photographs complemented the interview. The visual led me to question in some cases my initial interpretation of what I thought I heard, and more importantly, led me to additional questions. Second, participants verified the accuracy of their transcripts. Third, I did a content analysis of my data to help maintain analytical integrity. Miles and Huberman (1984) report that qualitative researchers work to some extent by insight and intuition, however, researchers could be wrong. "There is a near library of research evidence to show that people habitually tend to overweight facts they

believe in or depend on, to forget data not going in the direction of their reasoning, and to 'see' confirming instances far more easily than disconfirming instances" (p. 216). Next, I constantly reminded myself that as a community college teacher myself, I may be imposing my own experiences in the community college system on my participants' experiences.

Chapter Two contains the theoretical frameworks that informed this data. Although research on the community colleges and human capital theory have informed this study, social reproduction is the overriding theoretical frame of the research. Social reproduction theory illuminates the mechanisms and the processes that contribute to the transmission of social inequality generation after generation. This theory helps to explain why client-students' educational experiences did not result in the economic rewards they thought would accompany an associate's degree, as well as why they voiced no critique of their disappointment.

Chapters Three, Four, Five, and Six are participants' stories based on where they were six months after their original graduation date. Chapter Three contains the stories of four participants who are still in the community college because they either failed a semester of nursing, resulting in a two-semester delay, or they had to drop some classes along the way due to personal problems, resulting in a graduation delay. Jay MacLeod's (1987) theory of leveled aspirations helps explain the behavior within this group. Chapter Four contains the stories of three participants who are currently working out of the field for which they had been trained. Burton Clark's (1960) theory of cooling out is used to discuss these clients' behaviors. Chapter Five contains the stories of five participants who are working in their field of training. Alexander Astin's (1975) theory

of student involvement is used to describe these participants' behavior. Chapter Six contains the stories of participants who transferred to a four-year college, two dropped out, but two continued. Since obtaining a bachelor's degree was never the intent for participants under the structure of the JTPA program, these four participants represent discrepant cases. These students challenged the confines of JTPA; although two made unsuccessful transitions, the other two consciously used the JTPA program to help them achieve what they knew they wanted and needed—a bachelor's degree. Bourdieu and Passeron's (1977) idea of cultural capital is the primary theory used to explain the behavior of these students.

Chapter Seven brings this study to closure by examining how the data may have implications for informing social reproduction theory.

Chapter Two

Reproduction and production theories will provide the context of this study. Since social/educational theories alone would be insufficient in framing this study of client-students, human capital theory, an economic theory frequently used in providing theoretical context to work training programs, will also be examined. In addition to these theories, research on community colleges will also be presented.

Social Reproduction Theory

According to Karabel and Halsey (1977), of all the social sciences, it was sociology that endeavored most strenuously to make the study of education a scientific practice. The problem-oriented, applied sociological outlook that dominated the subject, coupled with the low esteem accorded schools of education constituted a barrier to scientific respectability. The founding of the American Journal Sociology of Education in 1963 was an attempt to integrate the subject with the larger concerns of sociology and to benefit from the growing prestige of the parent discipline.

By the 1950s, the prevailing orthodoxy in American sociology of education was structural functionalism. Formulated by Talcott Parsons, the theory offered an emerging subject a framework and a conceptual guide for research. Structural functionalism, coupled with the scientific method, provided seemingly unlimited possibilities for researchers (Karabel and Halsey, 1977). During the 1960s, structural functionalism became controversial in sociology because of the resurgence of various forms of Marxism, phenomenology, and interactionist theory in Europe and the United States. Apparently, the consensual elements in functionalism had proved a neutrality that inhibited the raising of a number of crucial questions that focused on conflict.

In 1962 Burton Clark provided an interesting variation of school as meritocracy. His text, called Educating the Expert Society, resulted in coinage of the phrase

"technological functionalism." This work stressed the importance of educating potential talent and attacked traditionally entrenched conceptions of a limited pool of educable ability. Because he felt that greater schooling for greater numbers implied a greater practicality in the school curriculum, he advocated the "comprehensive school," one that offered some students a broad general education while others took technical training. He felt that sorting had to take place at some point in the education structure (Karabel and Halsey, 1977). The sorting, however, could happen under the guise of meritocracy.

Up until the mid 1970's, then, upward mobility was assumed to be an outcome of talent and effort with schools operating as a meritocracy. Results of survey instruments and experimental data, research products of the hard sciences, were used to form these ideas of school. Sociologists described the institution and analyzed educational outcomes. In the mid 70's, however, these studies were challenged by more critical approaches. Surveys and experiments were being augmented by historical and ethnographic investigations (Karabel and Halsey, 1977).

Distinguished by a commitment to equality in education, this new sociology of education brought important perspectives to the study of schooling. Sociologists such as Bernstein (1973), Bowles and Gintis (1976), Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), Apple (1979), and Giroux (1983) presented a radical critique of the social effects of schooling in capitalist democracies. These scholars tried to show that schools were not innocent sites of cultural transmission, nor could schools be viewed as meritocratic institutions for upward mobility. Instead, these scholars placed responsibility for social inequality on the schools, even going so far as to claim that schools perpetuated social inequalities. They believed that schooling responded less to advancement and empowerment and more to the requirements of discipline and conformity demanded by capitalist production. They felt that students were inculcated with skills, values, and attitudes considered appropriate for their later roles in the occupational hierarchy in order to maintain the status quo and that schools provided different classes and social groups with the knowledge and skills

they needed to occupy their respective place in a labor force stratified by class, race, and gender (Levinson and Holland, 1996).

For example, Basil Bernstein (1973), an English sociologist, wrote about the British working and middle classes, their language habits, and how those habits affected their success in school. Bernstein believed that the British working class habitually use implicit language while the British middle class habitually use explicit language for reasons that can be traced to their cultures. Because the language of the school is typically explicit, the middle class has a great advantage in school while the working class has a great disadvantage.

The cultural characteristics that Bernstein (1973) examined were attitudes toward conformity, styles of exercising authority, amount of contact with "outsiders," and responses to pressures from outside the community—how people deal with the government, institutions, and agencies. Where conformity is expected, where sex roles are rigid, where opinions are dictated by group consensus, there is no need to explain one's thoughts, beliefs, or behaviors. Communication is frequently possible by alluding to shared opinions and beliefs rather than by explicitly expressing them. In such groups communication tends to be implicit. Where conformity is the dominant theme, only consensus views tend to be expressed, and they go unchallenged. Under these circumstances, meanings need only be implied or alluded to rather than stated explicitly. People who habitually engage in groups in which conformity is the dominant theme develop the habit of using implicit language and expecting it from others. As a result, they get little experience with using explicit language. Where a variety of opinions are expected, explicitness is required. People who habitually engage in groups in which a variety of opinions are expressed get into the habit of using explicit language and expecting it from others.

According to Bernstein (1973), the style of authority that is characteristic of a community also affects language habits. In an authoritarian situation, authority is

invested in position; therefore, there is little need for explicit language to control subordinates. In a more democratic situation, orders are based on reasons, and decisions are made more collaboratively. While those in authority may not encourage their subordinates to demand reasons, they are willing to discuss reasons for rules and decisions when they are challenged. In a collaborative situation, there is a continual need for explicit language.

A third characteristic of groups that affect habits of communication is isolation. Where individuals rarely have occasion to deal with strangers, they tend to rely on allusion to shared experience for communication; where individuals must communicate with strangers frequently, they learn they cannot rely on shared experience because they cannot be sure of what the other person knows or thinks.

The fourth characteristic of homes and communities that affects habits of communication is the prevailing attitude toward power in relation to the broader society. Where powerlessness is the dominant theme, there is little occasion to make plans, express them to others, and convince others to follow them. Communities in which people feel powerless experience very little necessity for using explicit language. They get into the habit of using implicit language and expect such language of others.

When it comes to schooling, Bernstein (1973) believes that members of the working class are affected in at least two ways because of the dynamics of class: their habitual use of implicit, context-dependent language and the relative lack of comfort in using explicit language. Both ways result in tremendous disadvantage in terms of acquiring higher levels of literacy that rely on highly explicit language. Second, their style of authority and their attitude of powerlessness in dealing with institutions and agencies explain why they or their children end up in classrooms that do not promote social critique or change.

According to Bernstein (1971), attitudes and behaviors regarding authority and power are class related and explain how schools reproduce existing class structures as opposed to transforming them.

Cultural Reproduction

The cultural reproduction model goes beyond mere transmission of the class structure by suggesting that schools function in part to distribute and legitimate forms of knowledge, values, language, and modes of style that constitute the dominant culture and its interests (Giroux, 1983). As a result, middle class people are better able to participate in their own socialization process because their language is similar to the language of the school. Since working class students have less competence in the language of the school, they often fail to understand exactly what is expected of them. They, therefore, respond inappropriately, perform more poorly, and reap fewer rewards for their efforts. Their poor academic performance leads them into preparation for vocational and blue-collar employment, whereas middle and upper class students are prepared for skilled and professional careers. In this way the class structure is maintained (Bernstein, 1977).

Perhaps the most elaborate theoretical work on the issue of social and cultural reproduction comes from Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron (1977). They argue that schooling produces certain deep-seated ways of understanding and perceiving, which they call "habitus," that allow subordinate groups to be reproduced and the dominant class to maintain its status without resorting to physical repression or coercion. What they call "symbolic violence" substitutes for physical violence. Symbolic violence is the imposition of the meaning system of one group onto that of another. It is the elements of perception, understanding, and style of habitus that are passed on from one generation to the next, binding the members of one cultural group together and separating them from the members of other cultural groups. While the habitus serves to separate group from

group, it also serves to provide legitimacy to the symbols of the dominant culture. The school is the primary agent for establishing the legitimacy, and it does so by developing in the members of the subordinate culture a respect for the objects and symbols for the dominant culture ordinarily found in museums, libraries, and concert halls. Because the school represents itself as an apolitical and neutral environment, Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) believe that those in the subordinate culture come to accept the claim to cultural superiority that is made for the symbols of the dominant culture. Members of the subordinate group come to blame themselves for their cultural insensitivity. The school produces a certain outlook that is typical of one's class background. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) argue that the perception of schooling as a neutral, apolitical selection mechanism conceals the ever-present bias in selection and provides the appearance of objectivity and fairness.

Jean Anyon's (1980) research demonstrates this idea. She examined the fifth grades in five different schools and found significant differences in the way in which conceptions of work, ownership, rules, and decision making were presented. The children in four of the five schools came from different social-class backgrounds. Two of the schools served working-class populations; one, a middle-class population; one, an upper-middle class population; and one, an "executive elite" population.

In the working-class schools, Anyon reported that much of the work expected of the children was mechanical and rote. The teacher "rarely explained why the work was assigned, how it connected to other assignments, or what its general significance was" (p. 74). Rules were presented to the children to be followed with no variation or appeal. In addition, in this school, the teacher attempted to exert total control over the use of time and space in the classroom and to maintain complete authority in the making of decisions. She discovered that this same pedagogical philosophy extended to all subjects.

In the affluent, upper-middle-class school, the pedagogical philosophy was totally different. Creativity and personal development were important goals for students.

Teachers wanted students to think for themselves and to make sense of their own experience. Discovery and experience were important because knowledge was viewed as being open to discovery. It was used to make sense and presented as having relevance to life's problems. Work was creative activity carried out independently. Control of the classroom was carried on through negotiation, social strife was acknowledged and discussed. Children in this school developed a relationship to the economy, authority, and work that was far different from that relationship developed in the working-class school. They learned that work is creative, satisfying for most people, and rewarded with social power and high salaries. In contrast, the working-class students learned that work is rewarded for knowing the right answers, for knowing where to find the right answers, for knowing which form, regulation, technique, or procedure is correct. This work does not reward creativity or self-expression.

In the executive-elite school, knowledge was academic, intellectual, and rigorous. Reasoning and problem solving were taught, and the rationality and logic of mathematics were held up as the model for correct and ethical thinking. These children did not have to wait for bells, had open access to materials, and were rewarded for top-quality performance through projects and performance.

Anyon's (1980) study is limited in scope and focuses on elementary schools; however, the research has relevance when considering the stratification of colleges in higher education. Just as the working-class fifth graders learned how to follow rules that were not understood, to engage in work that had little meaning to them, and to follow without question the orders issued by an external authority, client-students learned these same lessons through the culture of their working-class college. Because the college presented itself as apolitical and neutral, students had no reason to suspect that different colleges may present different cultures. Most working-class college students probably matriculated from working-class public schools similar to those in Anyon's study. The community college, then, perpetuated what the students already "knew." Since the

community college offered freedom to choose whether or not to attend, whether or not to attend on time, and whether or not to stay for the duration of the class period, students believed that college, with all its attendant "freedoms," was completely different from the public schools. The reality of situation belied the "freedom or choice." The community college culture was preparing students for participating in the world of work at the lower end of the production process. Since most of the community college students have no background of differing experiences, they would not even think about the curriculum, the pedagogy, the mission, or the philosophy of the community college. This kind of vocational tracking is invisible to working-class students because the use of the title "college," locates itself squarely within the system of higher education and gives it at least the minimal status which comes from being a college rather than a technical school.

Cultural capital, then, includes not only language and social roles, but also the general cultural background, knowledge, and skills passed from one generation to the next. According to Levinson and Holland (1996), cultural capital refers to a kind of symbolic credit which one acquires through learning to indicate social standing. This credit consists of a series of competencies and character traits, such as "taste" and "intelligence." Because of this credit, the actions of people with higher social standing automatically achieve greater currency and legitimacy. Those of lower standing, by contrast, receive no such legitimacy. For Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), "cultural capital" is convertible to economic capital through advanced academic credentials or in a way that it helps its bearers to secure loans, find business partners, or receive the benefit of the doubt in financial decisions.

This form of schooling imposes a kind of "symbolic violence" on non-elite students, in which "instruments of knowledge, which are arbitrary" are nevertheless made to appear universal and objective (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977, p. 115). This symbolic violence serves to silence its recipients. As the non-elite students' cultural capital is degraded or not recognized, they begin to sense their limitations. As these limits become

permanently inscribed in their "habitus," they learn to self-censor and self-silence in the company of those with greater social standing (Levinson and Holland 1994). Bourdieu uses the concept of habitus to refer to a deeply internalized, permanent system of outlooks, experiences, and beliefs about the social world that an individual obtains from his or her immediate environment (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977).

Cultural Production

The theory of cultural production evolved in response to a challenge of determinism inherent in the theory of reproduction. While Bourdieu and Passeron's (1977) study provided insight into the process of reproduction, it also raises some questions. Are all subcultures the same? Is there only one explanation for why subcultures do not avail themselves of high culture? Do the inhabitants of subcultures just accept their fate because they are so far from the symbolic forms of the dominant culture? Some of Bourdieu and Passeron's (1977) work involved a statistical analysis of the frequency with which members of different groups utilize certain kinds of cultural institutions. One of the points of the analysis was that the forms of higher culture are mainly utilized by those who have acquired the code to decipher the cultural presentations. Their point was that schools teach children to evaluate their own social standing in relation to their ability to decipher this kind of cultural material. Bourdieu assumes that going to the theatre or to a concert implies that one has acquired the code to appreciate what is going on, an assumption that is probably true for some but not for others. Without knowing the culture of these subgroups, is it fair to assume non-utilization is not having access to the code? He does not consider that the code may have been presented to them, but for whatever reason, they have chosen to resist learning it. If

a subculture is looked upon as an inferior reflection of the dominant culture, with little significance or legitimacy of its own, the prospects for any kind of resistance to domination or resistance seem to be doomed from the start. Bourdieu provides no reason to believe that the form of cultural domination he describes can be broken in any significant way. Willis' (1981) ethnographic study of working class boys seems to indicate that working-class children do not merely react in a passive unconscious way to the forces around them.

Paul Willis' (1981) Learning to Labour, the ethnographic account of the working-class boys of Hammerstown Comprehensive, dispelled the assumption of student passivity implicit in reproduction theory. By their actions, these boys sealed their fate to a working-class future. The focus of Willis' study is twelve, working-class secondary boys who attend a nonselective secondary school that Willis calls "Hammerstown Boys." The boys are a closely-knit group of friends who form their own subculture within the school. They define themselves in opposition to the formal school structure and to other students. Willis' study began in the second term of the next-to-last-year in school and followed the boys through six months of their working life after graduation.

Willis described how the informal culture of the boys and the formal structure of the school were polar opposites. The two groups were in constant battle over power and control. The school represented the well-organized, formal institution. The boys were non-conformists and troublemakers, yet the effect of this resistance ensured their futures as unskilled or semiskilled workers who have been well prepared to perform routine, unpleasant, manual labor.

What would have happened if all the boys resisted the formal structure of the school? Schools do not have enough resources to maintain order by punitive power alone; they rely on its moral authority being accepted by the majority. Willis (1981) said, "The teacher's authority must be won and maintained on moral, not coercive grounds. There must be consent from the taught" (p. 64). According to Willis (1981), most students accept moral authority because they believe that what the teachers have to teach is meaningful knowledge. In return for the knowledge, which will lead to a marketable credential, which, in turn, will lead to a rewarding job, students give respect. Although most students accept this bargain, the twelve "lads" did not, probably because they had a foregone conclusion of their futures. While the lads' resistance was counterproductive in the long run, it was effective in the short run. Realizing the kind of work that would be available to them, they did not believe that work existed as a way to establish a positive self-concept, to provide status, or to provide access to a higher social class. If there are no meaningful jobs, then there is no meaningful credential, and if there is no meaningful credential, the teacher's knowledge has not been meaningful. Of what relevance are math and science on a shop floor? Willis and the lads reject the idea of upward mobility and equal opportunity.

According to MacLeod (1987), the lads equate manual labor with masculinity, a trait highly valued by their working-class culture; mental labor is associated with femininity. Because they value manual over mental labor, they are unaware of their placement in dead-end, low-paying jobs as a type of class domination. As a result, they willingly choose their working-class position on the shop floor. Because Willis (1981) did not accept determinism as an explanation for reproduction, he posited that structural

forces are mediated by the cultural sphere through which they must pass. Willis' study as an example of cultural production is important because it suggests that subcultures should be examined and not dismissed, as Bourdieu seems to expect. Within subcultures lies the possibility of creative resistance toward change.

But what about the preponderance of students who did not resist in Willis' study, the ear'oles? The ear'oles conformed to the roles defined for students, they complied with the rules, and they aspired to middle-class occupations. Is that to say that they exercised no agency, that the structure of class determinism oppressed any possibility of agency? Perhaps human beings are not passive receivers of structural forces, blindly accepting the oppression. Maybe structure and agency meet at a point that might be termed the cultural milieu in which human beings become agents, interpreting and responding to these structural forces in creative ways, even to the extent that they modify their habitus. If that could possibly be true, then the ear'oles have chosen a path that looks like conformity but could actually have been a conscious interpretation of a set of choices framed in a rhetoric they accept.

Community College Functional Interpretations

Community colleges are often accused of transmitting social inequalities despite the fact that supporters frequently refer to them as "democracy's college" (Cohen and Brawer, 1989). The democratic view was epitomized by John Dewey (1916, 1927) who believed that education, as a social institution, plays a critical role in the establishment and maintenance of democracy. He believed that a democratic society provides all citizens with opportunities to participate in forming the values and beliefs that shape social life.

> Since education is a social process, and there are many kinds of societies, a criterion for educational criticism and construction implies a particular social idea. The two points selected by which to measure the worth of a form of social life are the extent in which the interests of a group are shared by all members, and the fullness and freedom with which it interacts with other groups. An undesirable society, in other words, internally and externally sets up barriers to free intercourse and communication of experience. A society which makes provision for participation in its good of all its members on equal terms and which secures flexible readjustments of its institutions through interaction of the different forms of associated life is in so far democratic. (p. 105)

Instrumentalist Marxist critics argue, however, "The community college's real social role is to reproduce the class inequalities of capitalistic society" (Dougherty 1994, p. 18). Dougherty highlights three critiques offered by Instrumentalist Marxists. First, community colleges provide workers who have developed the necessary skills and docility to be successful employees within a capitalist framework. Second, community colleges serve a diversionary role in protecting the elite, four-year institutions from having to admit underprepared students, thereby preserving the integrity of a four-year degree for a capitalist class of students. Last, community colleges maintain class inequality by channeling working-class students into working-class jobs. Scholars who reflect this perspective include Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis (1976), Fred Pincus (1980, 1983, 1986), and Steven Zwerling (1976).

Community colleges are located at the very point in the structure of education and social stratification where cultural aspirations clash head on with the realities of a class system and develop a societal function which Burton Clark (1960) refers to as "cooling out." Cooling out not only allocates people to slots in the occupational structure, but also legitimates the process by which people are sorted. For example, people blame themselves, rather than the system for their failure. According to Brint and Karabel (1989), community colleges channel working-class students away from four-year colleges and into technical occupations. Having gained access to higher education, the

low-status student is often cooled out and made to internalize his/her structurally induced failure. The tremendous gap between aspirations and their realization is mitigated and the ideology of equal opportunity is maintained (Clark, 1960).

Institutionalists such as Brint and Karabel (1989) believe that community colleges serve to divert student aspirations and reproduce social inequality. Instead of blaming capitalism, however, they place the blame on the structure of higher education in the United States, whose hierarchical nature encourages inequities in status and resources. Since community colleges occupy the lowest rung in the hierarchy, this message of second-class status is conveyed and adopted by community college students.

Functionalists tend to come to the defense of the community college by describing several vital social needs that are served by this institution: to provide college opportunity, to train middle-level workers, and to preserve the academic excellence of four-year colleges. Functionalists believe that community colleges democratize college access through their open-door policies, vocational options, and lower prices. Leland Medsker (1960) and Cohen and Brawer (1989) represent this view.

Kevin Dougherty (1994) argues that there is some truth in all three positions; however, the three views oppose one another in explaining the place of community colleges. He believes that community colleges are ineffective in helping baccalaureate aspirants succeed, thus supporting the instrumentalist and institutional critics. On the other hand, he believes functionalists may be correct when they say that many students who might not be accepted at four-year schools have a chance at college through the community college. In addition, community colleges provide higher education, or at least post-secondary education, to those who do not aspire to a four-year degree. All three perspectives appear to agree that the community college helps to protect the selective admission policies at four-year schools. Functionalists believe that this is a positive outcome because community colleges are serving the larger higher education system, but instrumentalists and institutionalists view this outcome as discriminatory.

Can any sense be made of these debates? The community college, through its open-door policy, represents a democratic ideal in which all people have the opportunity to achieve the American dream. Americans not only believe in the possibility of upward mobility through education, they also have become convinced that, in a society that places considerable emphasis on credentials, the lack of the proper degrees may well be fatal to the realization of their aspirations. In recent years, higher education has obtained a virtual monopoly on entrance to middle and upper level positions in the class structure. In his research, Karabel (1972) showed that the probability of holding a high-status job such as a professional or managerial position increases sharply with a bachelor's degree. This stress on credential led to a clamor for access to higher education, regardless of social background or past achievements. Response to the pressure for entrance led to greater hierarchical differentiation within higher education. Existing four-year colleges, for the most part, did not bend to the demand for open access to higher education. Instead, separate two-year institutions were created for these new students. The community colleges seemingly fulfilled the traditional American quest for equality of opportunity without sacrificing the principle of achievement (Karabel, 1972).

The process by which the educational system expands without narrowing relative differences between groups or changing the underlying opportunity structure may be referred to as "educational inflation" (Milner, 1972). Like economic inflation, educational inflation means that what used to be quite valuable is worth less than it once was. As lower socio-economic groups attain access to a specific level of education, educational escalation is pushed one step higher. When the high school was democratized, sorting occurred through tracking, with lower-class children taking vocational subjects and higher-class students taking college preparatory classes. Similarly, as access to college was democratized, the mechanism of tracking continued through the development of community colleges. Community colleges provide vocational education, education different from that offered by a four-year college, plus

the education is offered in two years as opposed to four. In essence, an associate's degree, once considered valuable, is often now required for entry-level positions that used to require only a high school diploma.

If this theory of educational inflation is correct, we could expect that the expansion of community colleges in the twentieth century would have resulted in only minimal changes in the system of social stratification. Indeed, various studies indicate that the rate of social mobility has remained fairly constant in the last half of the century (Jencks, 1972). Although the extension of educational opportunity may have contributed to economic productivity and the general cultural level of the society, community colleges have resulted in little or no change in the overall extent of social mobility.

If a four-year degree is a ticket to the professional sphere and higher-paying careers, and if community colleges are meant to be vehicles for social mobility, as "democracy's school," the community college should emphasize transfer education. However, Brint and Karabel (1989) argue that the American dream eludes significant numbers of community college students, and the reality is that a community college education has not produced economic return for many of its graduates.

Norton Grubb (1991) does not believe that vocationalism is the principal cause of the decline of student transfer. He believes that there are many contributing causes such as changing demographic backgrounds, declining achievement in high school, a collapse of career counseling in high school, an increase in students who are merely experimenting with college, the weakening of the academic associate's degree, and the shift from academic to vocational programs. Grubb argues that vocationalism has short-term benefits: students see improved job opportunities, businesses envision better-trained workers, and educators see increased enrollments. Grubb also believes that projections of the number of jobs available tend to be exaggerated, specific training fails to prepare students in the general math and science skills necessary for further learning, and vocational jobs perpetuate patterns of inequality because they do not offer the same

economic rewards as the baccalaureate. Training for skills applicable in labor and service markets is different from educating individuals for self-sustainability in a knowledge economy.

Human Capital Theory

JTPA operates under human capital theory. This theory posits that schools and work organizations offer open opportunity and that individual attainment of rewards is largely a function of how hard one works and the ability, education, and training one possesses. This theory conceptualizes the factors of ability, education, and training as human capital. Human capital is increased by investments, and education and training are the primary investments individuals can make in their own human capital. Education is a social investment that, in the most efficient manner, prepares human resources (students) to contribute to economic growth. Furthermore, the theory suggests that enhancing human capital through wise investment strategies in education will be measured in economic results (Spring, 1998).

Individuals are the primary causal forces in the model. Individual productivity is the basis for compensation, and individual productivity is determined by the ability possessed and by the investments made. In this model, the job world is assumed to act like a perfect market. The assumption is that the job market is not structured, and it does not impose restrictions on individual careers. Individuals alone are the main actors. They choose whether and how much they will invest in themselves; they choose how much effort they will expend and how much of their immediate earnings they will sacrifice to get better training. No barriers exist for able individuals if they choose to make the sacrifices and exert the effort to acquire the skills necessary for advancement. Human capital theorists explain inequality only in terms of individual attributes while ignoring the influence of social structures. It is simple: wage and status will increase if individuals increase their education (Becker, 1993).

While human capital theory stresses the influence of individual factors, reproduction theories contend that administrative rules, institutional customs, and structural barriers will determine which individuals will be selected for advancement and how far they will be allowed to advance; this is how inequality is explained.

Human capital theory is illustrated in the JTPA client screening process. For example, when screening students for degree- of-fit with the program, JTPA administrators look at several pieces of data: TABE test results (basic skills test), SAGE test results (to determine if they have the skill to complete training in chosen field), financial eligibility for the program, testing results from the college they will be attending (placement tests such as the ASSET or COMPASS), and questions and answers from the Student Characteristics Form (students answer questions to determine initiative, work ethic, and critical thinking). If the JTPA administrators determine that the clients have a chance to be successful in JTPA, they can select a two-year technical field that is in demand for their particular geographic area.

These "in-demand" jobs are determined by the Private Industry Councils that operate in each of the Service Delivery Areas. Participants know they have two years to complete the program. JTPA will pay for tuition, books, child care, transportation, and any other supplies necessary for success in the program. In turn, the participant agrees to complete in two years, get a job in that field or any job that would take them off the welfare rolls, and be on that job 90 days after program completion. The number of participants on the job measures JTPA accountability 90 days after program completion. Service Delivery Areas that meet or exceed their accountability goals receive monetary rewards; those who do not are given one more year to meet the goal. If the SDA fails to meet accountability goals two years in a row, the SDA loses funding for the following year.

JTPA reiterates to the client that the purpose of attending college is to get a job. Training students as human capital is embedded in the notion that government's goal is

economic growth and that education is a form of economic investment. The value of education is measured by its contribution to economic growth, and knowledge is service to the economy. Does education for the development of human capital sacrifice individual needs? Of course it does, but JTPA is honest with the participants on this point, at least as far as the paperwork students are given to read concerning an overview of the JTPA program. In addition, other financial assistance is not contingent on their participation in this program; students decide for themselves if they wish to participate.

Summary

Community college supporters say community colleges provide access; this may increase the education of some students who may have stopped at high school. Community college critics say that community colleges "cool out" (Clark, 1960) others who might have gone on for a four-year degree. Even though reproduction and human capital theories and arguments are valuable in that they provide a way of looking at the community colleges, none is satisfactory based on my interaction with JTPA students on a community college campus. Clearly, these client-students are trapped in a class structure where they have little power or participation.

All of the participants in this study expressed satisfaction with the college and appreciation for the financial and emotional help that JTPA offered. Six months after twelve had graduated, three of those were not working in a field for which they had been trained. In fact, two were working the same job they had before entering college; yet all three still responded positively to their college and JTPA experience. These participants enjoyed school; they liked how they felt about themselves while they were at the college; they liked that they were being good educational role models for their children. They were proud of their newfound elements of cultural capital—use of standard grammar, introduction to classical literature, speaking up for themselves, use of socially acceptable

etiquette. Those are important elements of education that should not be diminished; however, it appears odd that not one client-student voiced disquietude despite the obvious disjuncture between the students' goal at the beginning of the JTPA/community college partnership and the result at the end of the two-year partnership.

Chapter Three

Participants Who Are Still In Community College: Anna, Hank, Mary, Ashley

Anna's Story as a Third-Semester Community College Student:

Sixteen years ago when I was 18, I won a scholarship to come to this college. Of course, I fell in love and got married, had a daughter, and fell out of love. By that time I had been working in a factory for four years. I knew there was something else out there for me. I went to a technical school and got an electronics degree, and then I worked at Edison Radio for a year as a bench technician. After that first year, I was promoted to the office; that meant that I worked for service centers by phone and talked to customers about hook ups and the different products. Then, Edison Radio shut down. I had a $16,000 loan for the electronics degree, and the only place where the school guaranteed a job after graduation shut down. From there I pretty much panicked, and I ended back up in a factory because there just wasn't anything out there for a female in electronics. This factory was into plastics and I got into extrusion. I was miserable. Four years later, with interest mounting on the $16,000 debt and collection agents calling me about it, I began trying to get myself fired, and I couldn't do it! They kept trying to counsel me on my absenteeism. Finally, they brought me in and were going to fire me, and I told them how miserable I was, so they worked it out so it didn't look like I got fired so I could get unemployment and that stuff. So I left and took two part-time retail jobs. Everything was up in the air. I didn't know where I was going. People ask me why I just didn't quit that job, but I had my daughter to raise, and I hate to quit anything. Just to quit, well, I guess that's just it. I just hate to quit. I guess it's that responsibility, and you know it was just instilled in me--you've got to work, you've got to have a job, and it was pretty much

instilled in me by my parents. My dad had three jobs and my mom had two just to keep my sister and me in school.

One day I was looking in the newspaper, and I saw where JTPA would help people. By then I was kinda on welfare. I moved back to the college town and thought, "Okay, this is my break." So I'm in college, majoring in Business Management, I'm using my mind, and I'm finally going somewhere. I want to show this to my daughter because she's like "Mom, I want to be just like you because you are the best mom in the world." This is my fourth semester, and I now have a 3.25 GPA, and I am so happy with that. I am a full-time student, so I have time to spend on my studies and time to spend with my daughter on hers.

I am happy and excited about the future. My caseworker Jack has a lot to do with that. He writes me little letters and sends them home--letters of encouragement--keep up the good work--and I really appreciate that. I'm not just a number. He says, "You need anything?", and I really believe him. I really believe him. What's so nice is that he's right here on campus, so I pop in all the time to drop off my papers. I would say with programs like this there is no reason why nobody can finish their education. No reason whatsoever.

Here recently I went through something terrible. I was working at a drugstore, and they had an undercover sting where they were sending minors in to purchase liquor, and the night that I was working I was sick and there was a long line, and they sent this guy in. I truly thought he was of age. I usually card people; I'm very strict on that. That night I did not card this guy. After all these people got out, they came back in and said that he was a minor, so I was fired and had to go to court. My dad knew someone down

there, and they put in a good word for me. I had to pay a $50 fine. The lawyer kinda looked at me when I said, "Dad, I don't feel comfortable pleading guilty to this. I know they put in a good word for me, and the fine is only $50 when they charge other people $350, but I'm pleading guilty to something I'm not sure I did, and it will be on my record for five years. I never saw anything that proved he was a minor." He said, "Anna, if you go to court and go to trial, and he actually was a minor or they bring someone in there because it's the law on their side, you're going to be out a lot of money and time." So I went ahead and signed. I'm relieved it's over. Anyway, during all of this, Jack sent me a letter and he said, "Keep your head up. You did great last semester in your grades. Keep your faith in the Lord, and things will be all right." It was so great to have a letter of encouragement. I'm glad I have him.

Jack knows I want to go corporate when I graduate, but realistically, I know I need a Bachelor's. I wish JTPA would provide for a Bachelor's. Associate degrees are great--I'm not knocking it, but the Bachelor's degree will take you places. I would have to get a scholarship; that would be the only way. I couldn't get a loan if I wanted one. Since I defaulted on that technical school loan, I'm not eligible for other loans and many grants. They told me the balance was now $20,000 and wanted me to pay $200 a month. I told them I could pay $50 a month, but that's all the extra I could afford, and they told me they wouldn't fool with anything less than $200 a month. I would like to pay it off, but I don't see how. If I can't go on to get a Bachelor's, I think I would like to get into management in a small business.

This summer I want to spend time with my daughter plus work on my welfare program. I have to stay part time, or I lose all the help I'm getting right now. If I can get

a good part time job, maybe we'll take little outings that won't cost so much. I thought about the caves--Marengo and Mammoth, little trips like that. My daughter will soon be a teenager. She's my sweetheart. She's really the purpose for all I do. She looks at me and doesn't see any faults. I tell people this is the only thing I've done great in my life. She's a real good kid; I couldn't ask for more. Not to brag because she's mine, but I can see no problems at school, except Attention Deficit Disorder, focusing and processing. But when you talk to her, it's like talking to a little woman.

I've been blessed with good family. I couldn't ask for better parents. They have been my backbone, my cheerleaders. There's no "I told you so." They say, "Why don't we talk about this." Their doors are always open, and they encourage me in everything. Successes they cheer me on; for my failures, they cheer me on. I'm also blessed with a good church family. When I was at the lowest point in my life, I wasn't going to church. I was making $30,000 at the plastics extrusion factory, but I was so unhappy and there was no stability in my life, so my mother always talked to me. I always made sure my daughter went to church; I took her over to Mom's so she could go to church, and finally I said, "Okay, I can't get any lower than this," and I went back to church. That was two and a half years ago. Since I did that, things have not gone anywhere but up. You know you may always have your problems, and your problems may not always be taken care of, but the Lord will always be there, so you'll be able to handle them. And that is the truth.

I love being in college. College teaches you to be a well-rounded person. You have all these classes, and you get to pick all these classes to build a better you, so you can build armor for yourself. I went to the technology school, and they taught me a

highlight of things. I had a great GPA and even received a plaque for academic excellence, but I was a master of nothing. It was just thrown out there. There was such a broad range of things that I couldn't fine-tune anything. You go to regular college, though, and I think you are well rounded. For instance, I am taking Spanish. I wanted to take that because that is going to help me in the job market. I used to think in high school that I wouldn't be talking to anyone in Spanish, but look at the world today. It's getting closer and closer.

When I first came here, I was so scared because I didn't figure I'd fit in anywhere and I came out here and I see a whole lot of people like me, you know, people who have been out of school for years, have children, who have had their share of hard knocks. They're probably like me--on welfare or low income. I figured they got fed up like me and wanted to start over. I figured this would be a place of young kids, and no place for me. I was wrong. This is the place for me. And I really love being part of UK. I feel connected in a better group of people. I feel like I'm connected to a big university. I like that UK name. This is going to be on my diploma, and that is great. I don't like the idea of them changing to that KTC thing. I think UK means clout. I went and got my student card and I was thrilled to get it, you know? I don't intend to go to UK games or anything, but I've got it.

I can't wait to graduate. I hope to live in a larger city than this but not as large as New York. I'd like to live in a suburb type of atmosphere with a yard and a home and good neighbors. Sort of a melting pot of neighbors--not all black, not all white, and kids my daughter's age. I want to have a reputation for being good at what I do. I don't want

to live from paycheck to paycheck. I want to have a nest egg put away and enjoy life and get remarried. Hopefully, the Lord will send me someone very good.

Anna, Three Months After Completion of Her Fourth Semester

Anna was still working on her Business Management degree at this time. Because she had to take some developmental courses, Anna was not able to finish her degree in two years; JTPA continued to pay because the development courses were considered prerequisites for additional classes. She reported that she was working part time at an insurance office and making progress toward the degree.

Anna, Six Months After Fourth Semester:

Anna reported that she had met with her academic advisor and that she will definitely graduate in August 2000. She is still working in the insurance office, is very happy there, and there may be a permanent job at the end of her degree program.

Hank's Story as a Third-Semester and Fourth-Semester Community College Student:

I don't think I'll ever get over the fact that I didn't make it through nursing the first time. I was watching ER last night and there was a scene that tore me up. There was a big bus wreck, and one of the doctors tells one of the EMT's "Good job," and that's when I lost it. I went and saw Patch Adams and lost it there, too. It's what I want to do. When I see any of my fellow nursing students, I think that should be me--that's where I belong.

I knew this past semester was going to be rough because third semester just involves so much. It's like they put all the hardest stuff in the third semester--psych, respiratory, cardiac, fluids and electrolytes, diabetes, and self-esteem. It sure would have helped if cardiac had been one semester and respiratory another. I just didn't apply

myself the way I have to for nursing, plus being on strike at work for two weeks didn't help. I didn't have much on my mind those two weeks other than the strike, and in nursing you can't do that. I'm taking six hours this semester, just so I don't have to reregister for college. Then I'll wait to see if I get readmitted to the nursing program in the fall. I let a lot of people down by not making it this semester.

JTPA has been a great program, but the six hours I'm taking right now will apply for my bachelors, not the Associate's, so I had to pay for these classes. Well, actually, my friend Karen paid my college tuition this semester. She's a big stepping stone in our lives. I mean I have to pay her back, of course, but she's financing it. She's not married and has no children, so she comes over and plays with the kids. Now next fall when I repeat the third semester, JTPA can't pay for that either because they already paid for it once. My caseworker said that they'd pay for any extra books or materials, though. After third semester, I'll be back to normal. He told me before we even started that they lost people in the third semester, so I was forewarned. I just didn't study like I should have. I ended up with a 97 in the clinical, but I just didn't apply myself in the academic area. You know what I did when they told me I failed? I gave away all my books. My nursing friend Lucy got them all back for me. She kept me going.

I love my family. I let them down this semester. My wife is the one who got me to come to college. I was in the military for about seven years, and I had all these benefits from there, and she said I should take advantage of them, and we dropped by one day, and here I am. I've been here since the summer of '95. I took all my prerequisites before I got into the nursing program, so all I'd have to do would be to concentrate on the nursing classes once I got in. That's why I've been here so long. It's going to take me

five years to graduate from a two-year nursing program. My wife really wants to open a daycare center, but until I'm out, there's just no money. She worked for the government on base at the child care center. She's been at home with the kids--Laura is three, Megan is seven, and then I have a 21-year-old stepson, and a fifteen-year-old stepson. My oldest stepson is at Murray; he's majoring in computers. He's a very intelligent young man.

I was a combat medic in the Army; that's how I knew I wanted to be a nurse. What's so frustrating is all the stuff I did in the Army and all the training I got, it counts for nothing. Stuff I had in the military I might as well just toss it aside. I mean if I try to do it the military way it would be wrong anyway, so I mean I just tossed it aside and started fresh. You know what my job is at the hospital? I'm a phlebotomist--I take blood. I want to be more than that. I want to do more than that for my patients. I'd like to continue working at Kings Daughters Hospital, as a nurse, though, and not a phlebotomist. I'd like to stay in the emergency room for three years and then become a flight nurse, so we'll see how that works out. I just can't imagine leaving this area. I had my fill of moving in the military; I want to stay put for awhile. I love my house--it's not much but it's mine, and it sits on top of big hill overlooking Bartlettsburg. The view is out of this world. There's room for my cat and dog, plenty of room outside for the kids to play. We had a meeting last week because our city water gets really muddy because we live way up and the water pressure is low. We have to boil our drinking water when that happens.

One of my main problems with school is that I don't have time to study. I don't study very much at all because of my kids. I just can't go in a room and shut them out--I just can't do that. I try to study at work if we're not too busy, and then like I go to a

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friend's house to study for a while. If I studied like I should, I would have probably had a 4.0 GPA instead of having to lay out a semester. My caseworker has been staying in touch this semester; he thinks I'll get back in the fall. I sure hope so. My advisor has been real good too. I think if the advisor did some counseling, it would be helpful for students. I never really went to mine except for this past semester. I mean she'll get involved with you. She'll say, "You need this and this, and you need to do that." She'll ask, "What's your problem?" Why are you not passing this class? Why don't you go see so and so for help?" I come, take my notes, do what I need to do and leave. I never thought I'd have to see my advisor for academic counseling. I don't know, with two rug rats running around, plus trying to work full time, plus trying to go to school, plus trying to hold the family together, it was hard. It was humiliating to let my family know I had flunked out for a semester. My step-mom is a nurse, my father is a paramedic, my grandma is a nurse, both of my aunts are nurses.

I want to stay here and work with patients. That's all I want to do--hands on.

Hank, Three Months After Fourth Semester:

Hank reapplied and was accepted into the nursing program. Since this was a repeat of third semester, Hank had to pay the tuition himself, but JTPA paid for books and supplies for which they had not previously paid. He reported that he felt good about himself once again. He was still working as a phlebotomist at the hospital, but he was spending more time on school.

Hank, Six Months After Fourth Semester:

Hank successfully completed the third semester of nursing school. He anticipated

graduating May 2000. JTPA was once again financially supporting him now that he paid for the repeated third semester. He was still working as a phlebotomist.

Mary's Story as a Third-Semester Community College Student:

I decided I wanted to go back to college. I was having trouble figuring out what I wanted to be when I grew up, so what I did was, my son has leukemia, so once his treatments settled down so he could go to school, he started first grade, so I told him, "When you start to school, I'll start school," so that's what I did. I filled out my financial aid papers, and I went in to talk to the financial aid coordinator here on campus. It just wasn't feasible for me to go away to school, so I told her about my limited income and the reason I couldn't work because I had to take care of Bobby, so she told me about JTPA, and we filled out the papers, and I took the test, got in and I'm going for electronics engineering technology. It's something I wanted to know about, I've done everything else, and I wanted something challenging. In my class of 19, three of us are girls. If I'd gone to school prior to this, I don't think I would have gotten what I wanted because they would have shoved me into something or guided me into something that was more for a woman. I knew I didn't want nursing or anything like that. I'd already had my fill of that, not by choice, you know. Of course, I still do nursing skills at home, but I do that because I want to do that. I've always been a hands-on person. I've built cabinets, I do countertops, work on cars, I know how to housewire. This was the only thing I had an interest in but had never delved into. It's like curiosity finally got the best of me.

I like electronics technology, but it's really challenging. I mean especially with a sick child when your mind is somewhere where it doesn't need to be. It's hard to concentrate totally on what you're doing. Mr. Parsons, the instructor, he's pretty good about my situation and all. I get frustrated sometimes because with the stress of my personal life and my school life, that even though I have the potential to be an A student, I have so much stress, that I can't seem to remember all I need to remember, so it gets me in trouble sometimes on tests, but I never make less than a B. I have three labs right now; they're my favorite part. We have a blast. I am determined to finish this time, to finally finish something. I started to college in 1980--that was a long time ago. You know being a woman you tend to get swayed by husbands, families, things like that. They usually try to talk you out of going where it hurts you so bad that you have to drop or something like that which I did years ago. Then I decided this time I was going to finish. It doesn't matter.

I'd like to go into engineering some day, but for now I just want to be a good technician. An engineer is only as good as the technician. If you're trying to tell a technician what to do, it seems to me that you should understand what the technician is doing. Otherwise you can't be a good leader or boss. You have to be able to work together as a group. Actually, I'd like to have the knowledge to make something that everybody needs and patent that. I wouldn't mind having my own shop, even if I do have a job. I have to have a job here locally since my son's doctors are close by, so I wouldn't really want to leave the state or anything. I want to stay close.

Bobby only got to go to first grade a couple of months, and then he developed a fungal infection on the brain, and last semester he relapsed with leukemia. He finished his treatment before he relapsed in September. They told us he couldn't go to school because of the fungal infection. He's on this medication that's infused over six hours. He's on an IV for an hour before the infusion; that's when he has to stay still. Then he's on a portable for the infusion. He plays, does school work; he's not bedridden. He's a normal kid. When she disconnects the lines, she just tucks it up in his shirt. He loves to play.

He's on the list for a bone marrow transplant. My son's illness has been going on for five years now, but now I just have one more year of school. I couldn't have gone to school without some very good friends who watch him when either I or the home health nurse can't.

In fact, these friends are my landlady and landlord, too; they're my best friends. They've helped me through with my son. My husband left me when Bobby was a baby; he couldn't handle the sickness, but these friends came through for me. I was always over to their house or they were at mine, so they had a basement apartment and said we could have it. I was living in government housing after we separated, so I said, "Well, sure." I moved in. I have a private entrance, but it's a whole apartment. We're such good friends; we cook dinner together, clean house together. If we need our privacy, we have that, too. They've been married 23 years, no kids, and they've adopted my son. I feel like their sister. We're that close.

He's had eight brain surgeries, and that took the left peripheral vision from his right eye, and now we find out he's got radiation cataracts; that doesn't help the problem any. He had to have emergency surgery two weeks ago. We got up at 2 AM and drove to Louisville, and we were there all day. He has an incision from his rib cage to his groin where they had to go up through the artery to make another port for his meds. An x-ray showed that all his upper body arteries are either closed or scarred where he has had so many lines put in. He's all puffed up because of the steroids and stuff. When he's feeling so miserable, only the dogs can make him smile. He has a cross between a Dalmatian and a Basset, a Bassmation, Bobby likes to tell people. His name is Spot. The other dog is Tiny; she sleeps right beside Bobby. And then, of course, there's Pooterbutt, the stuffed dog that my sister got Bobby for his first surgery. It now goes in to every surgery with him. Bobby is very intelligent, he works very hard in his schoolwork, but he doesn't like to read because his vision is so limited. He's been disciplined; he's not one of these spoiled brats just because of his illness. He's just like any normal child. He's very mature for his age, and everybody loves him.

Everyone here has been real supportive. The instructors here work with you real well when I have to go to the hospital with my son, so that helps a lot. The instructors know you and know what's going on and they help you. In larger universities you don't get that closeness with the instructors. You want to succeed because that instructor knows you. I like that, being in a smaller classroom. My caseworker is real nice, but I keep forgetting to turn in my papers. At times it can be a hassle when you have a lot on your mind; paperwork, it's like oh, no one more piece of paper. I think she knows she

can trust me, and she knows my situation, so she doesn't make a big deal when I forget to check in with her.

I've grown a lot since I first started college back in 1980. I am more sure of myself, more confident in realizing that life is not a bowl of cherries, that it's going to have its ups and downs. When you have a sick child, you realize how important life is, and quality of life becomes very important, not just for the sick child but for the family or the support group around you. To be secure in your family and your job, that's everything. I almost lost him three times in '95. He's proud of me; I'm proud of me, you know, for going on. I made it to school, and my son is alive. The only thing that could be better than that would be for me to graduate and my son to get his bone marrow transplant.

Mary's To Do List for Monday

5:00 AM	Bobby gets up, watch cartoons
6:30 AM	Fix Bobby's breakfast
7:00 AM	Give Bobby his pills, Suction his vascat
7:30 AM	Settle Bobby with home health nurse, leave for school
8:00-10:00 AM	Electronics classes
10-11:00 AM	Break--Talk with other students in electronics classes, eat breakfast
11-12:15 PM	Go to Microprocessing class
12:15 PM	Go home, talk to Bobby's nurse, flush Bobby's lines, talk to Richard and Mary about Bobby's afternoon
1:00-4:00 PM	Work in woodworking shop
4:00-6:00 PM	Cook dinner, straighten house, cuddle with Bobby

6:00-7:00 PM Flush Bobby's lines

7:00-8:00 PM Bathe Bobby, get Bobby to bed

8:00-???? Study until I conk out

Mary's "To Do" list was derived from asking her to run through a typical day in her life.

Mary, Three Months After Fourth Semester:

Mary was still in school, still anticipating graduation in May 2000. Bobby was still on the list for a bone marrow transplant.

Mary, Six Months After Fourth Semester:

Mary finished up her third semester of the electronics engineering technology degree. She anticipated graduating in May 2000. Bobby was still on the list for a bone marrow transplant.

Ashley's Story as a Third-Semester Community College Student

I got married when I was sixteen, and I have no family here, and we, my husband and I had planned on children later. Well, that didn't work of course--one of life's unexpected, and that kinda threw me off traveling to school because I was looking at four-year schools a couple of hours away, but I had to be close in case something happens because I have no family, so I chose here. When I started college in '95 in the summer, he and I were paying for it, everything, and that was kinda rough, so I was going like part-time. I would take one class in the summer, and then I would take like two classes in the fall, and he had an accident of August 1995. That made me eligible for financial aid; financial aid helped me with one year of school and like last summer I got

accepted into the nursing program. They were telling me about the JTPA program, and they said I was probably eligible.

I called and set up an appointment, actually it took me about two or three months to find out the correct person to talk to, and then I had to go see him, fill out paperwork, and take a test. It's been great--they paid childcare, travel, and supplies that first semester, and then have paid everything since then.

Like I said, a while ago my husband had an accident. A crane boom fell on him, and he suffered some serious injuries to his back, and he was off three years. You know financial aid was working when we were getting workman's comp. We were getting by, but it was really rough. Then he didn't receive any more workmen's comp because they cut him off because we were trying to get a lawsuit settled because there was negligence from the company and to put pressure on us to settle, they cut us off. We had no income. He was doing odd jobs on the side. By the grace of God the day we found out we were cut off from workman's comp was the day this big job come in and we got through five and a half months on that. And JTPA? They have been wonderful. They came through for me, not only with books, tuition, gas, and childcare, but to help me be the person I've always wanted to be. I have no family here, and there are only two people here who would even think about helping me out with her, but they're busy. They've given me some extra money, and I thank God because we've had a lot of obstacles get in our way, but there's always something come up that has helped us through.

My caseworker is here like once a month. He brings the checks, and he'll see you and ask if everything is going okay. Then he's at the mandatory meetings. Sometimes they do these little game things, but they're always real involved with us. My academic

advisor is who I had to talk to a couple of weeks ago because I got a referral slip and I had to go in to talk to her because I was borderline. This is the lowest I've been. I mean I'm passing, but I'm not happy. I told her since school had started we had been bombarded with illness. My grandmother's been in the hospital, my little girl's been sick, and she said she'd be willing to do whatever. She'll help you get tutors. She mentioned several books you could buy to use, but I'm doing better. When you have no family and trying to do all this, it's just too stressful. She told me to take a "Me" day --a day for myself. We talked about thirty minutes, and I took some of her advice, and I think I've been better.

I love college. High school was okay, but I love college. My husband thinks I'm crazy because he hates school, but I love it. You know people, and those people have an effect on your life. Here, you get students from different backgrounds and you get to know their backgrounds. We have students from China, just different...you have to work. I love a challenge. I'm that kind of person. I think it's harder when you have children because you have to juggle home, school, how to separate your time and spend time with your child, your husband, and do your homework, but be efficient with it. Not just do it, but do it well. And be here on time, you have to schedule your appointments around this and that. I think college helps you become a better manager of our time; you learn to use it more efficiently.

My husband is wonderful. You know we hadn't expected to be pregnant, but during the pregnancy, I lost a twin, but my daughter is healthy. She's perfectly fine. We know that life is going to be full of the unexpected. When we got married, I told him I wanted to be a nurse or a doctor. He said, "Whatever you want, you know I'll be here to

help you through it." A couple of weeks ago I was in this horrible down state, and I said, "I think I'll quit," and he said, "Oh, no, you're not." I said, "No, I wouldn't quit, but I'm just so lost and there's never enough time for this and this and this." He said, "Go do something. Let me keep her. Go lie down. Go to sleep." Because I hadn't been to sleep in 39 hours. Sometimes I do that--I just can't go to bed. I think he's more excited than I am about graduating in May! We're really excited because this opens a whole new door for us when I graduate. We've looked at a house, houses, we want to move to a house. That opens a lot of doors as a family because we want to move, get a home, and I'll be in my field doing what I want to do. I work now as a Certified Nurse Assistant a couple of days a month. I used to work full time during the summer. I've cut back. They said I only had to work one day a month to maintain my employee status, but I try to help out when I can; they really need help. Knowing I was going to graduate just changed everything. I keep telling myself, I'm going to be here. And of course, our income will go up. His is the only source right now. This just changes everything--my daughter's life--she'll be going to a different school.

Ashley as a Fourth-Semester Community College Student:

I won't graduate this spring after all; I missed by two points on my final exam, so I have to retake my third semester and the spring fourth semester, so now I won't graduate until spring 2000. There were three of us that didn't get through, but we talked about it. I never had to retake anything before. This has been really hard for me to adjust to failure. I know things don't always turn out the way we want them. You just have to pick yourself up and dust yourself off.

I was so scared to tell my dad that I had to go back. He was always a rough person; some people would consider him mean. A few years ago he used to be this person who used words like "stupid" or "ignorant." I was so scared to tell him I had to retake my third semester because I have a sister who has been attempting an RN degree for the past eight years. She starts and then quits. She could have been a doctor. I was just waiting for him to say, "I guess you're going to quit," but he was really good. When I told him, he said, "So? Go back. So it's going to take you an extra semester." I really felt like I let my husband down, and to a point I still feel that way, and it's most of the time, I'm fine, I can talk about school. One of the girls in the class was getting married, and they threw her a shower and I went.

My little girl has really been sick. They're still running a lot of tests on her. She's been in the hospital. My grandmother basically raised me, and she's been in the hospital five times in the past four months, and she's still not well. My great grandmother, my aunt, and my sister had surgery, and my husband had to go to the emergency room because he got run over by a four-wheeler. He's okay, but they had to do a cat scan to check his kidneys; he bruised one of them. They thought that maybe the tube that was attached to the kidney was torn, but it was just a bruised kidney. In December, my daughter got a sinus infection, and she had a cat scan, and they put her on a month of antibiotics. Well she has another sinus infection, and they've put her on another three weeks of antibiotics, but they're running tests on her immune system to see if her body is producing enough and if they're lasting their life span. They're doing all kinds of things to her. They sent her to an allergist, and she's allergic to a lot. It's just been a real mess.

My husband got laid off, so I'm working as much as I can, but I don't make that much right now, you know; the bills, we're getting them paid, but that's all. I work at Parsons Nursing and Rehabilitation. I'm usually a midnight shift person, but I've been helping with the day shift for February and March because my husband has been laid off; he's looking for work, but it's really been hard because he's going to be building race cars. It's hard for him to do anything with her because I don't have any family here, but I like the day shift. I don't miss time with her because I'm there when she wakes up and when she goes to bed. Technically, I'm part-time, but I'm getting more than full time right now. Last week I had 50 hours because it's been that bad. I worked 16 hours one day.

I like the residents. When I take care of them I try to think "One day that might be me. Would I want to be treated that way?" There's one lady that just loves me, and there's nothing wrong with her mind; she just can't walk, but she'll pinch my butt, and say, "I have to keep you on your toes." I love a lot of them. We have to keep them going; once they give up, they die. There's one little man and his wife and I just click. I gave her a picture of me and my little girl, and she's always asking, "How's your boyfriend?" I would rather be an RN working in a trauma, but it's okay. I just can't wait until I am that. It's something I've wanted for a long time. After I failed, I put all my notes and books up in my closet. I haven't got the nerve to get them down and read yet. I get them out, and then I cry. I told my husband the other day I was scared. He said, "Why?" I said, "School." He said, "What about it?" I said, "It feels like starting all over. I've never been out of school this long before. I don't know what to do with myself. Suppose I don't want to go back?"

I was going to take a class this semester, but I've had everything, and the nursing advisor said it would be better for me to take off and save my money from financial aid. I have to write a letter asking for reinstatement. They said I wouldn't find out until August. I don't mind waiting; I'd just like to know. If they didn't have a seat available for me, I could make other plans. They changed the rules for LPN Boards. Previously, if you had to go back like I'm having to do, they would let you take your LPN Boards and work as an LPN. They don't let you do that anymore. You have to be an LPN before they'll let you take the Boards. If I didn't get into the RN program, I could take the LPN course and take my LPN Boards and work as an LPN. I'm just waiting. Evelyn, the JTPA coordinator, calls me and encourages me. She's a graduate of the program and she hasn't passed her Boards yet.

My church has really been supportive. Right after my husband had his accident and they cut off his workman's comp, they gave us money for bills and a voucher for groceries. Everyone there is really great. They'll call and just check on my little girl.

We were really hoping to have our own home by now. Right now we live in my in-laws' house. They have a full apartment in the basement--two bedrooms and a bath, and we've been helping them to finish the house. She offered, and I appreciate it, but two families just can't live together. I pay the phone bill, I keep my apartment clean, and I clean the studio apartment, and I do the cooking for the whole house. Right now, his mom, dad, and grandmother live upstairs. I'm grateful. When we got married, she told me, "We lived with people for six or seven years off and on, and I'd rather for you to stay with us, so your bills won't be so many, but we have our insurance, our life insurance,

our groceries, help with the water, power. She said, "I'd rather for you to stay here until she finishes college, and then you can get on your feet." I'm very grateful, but it's very hard. And there's a lot of things that have happened--like my pregnancy. I love her, but that wasn't planned and that's made it harder and more tension between his mother and me. She has raised her other granddaughter--she feeds her, clothes her, paid for ballet lessons. She didn't have to, but she didn't want her to go without. Her daughter is now in a predicament that she can't do anything about. When she found out I was pregnant, she thought she was going to take her. Not having a mother, I wanted to be the best mother I could be for my daughter. I told Charles that the only thing that will take me from my daughter is death, Heaven forbid, that should happen. I want to be here for her, and I want her to have what I didn't have--companionship, someone to confide in. It almost came down to blows one day over my daughter because I wouldn't. . . never mind. Finally, she gave up and she's apologized, but we barely speak because we just don't communicate. I just feel so tense and I don't know what to say, but she's not going to get my child.

My teachers believe in me, though. One said, "I don't know many young people of your young years who are making such mature decisions as you are." We put our money from our settlement into a bank account to save for a down payment on a house. We won't touch it. We have $20,200 right now. I'll be so proud when I graduate and when I move into my own home. I've been with him almost seven years since I was 14, and was a mother by 17, but I want to be better. Every day I just pray I can be a better Christian, a better parent, and not to forget who I am.

Ashley, Three Months After Fourth Semester:

Ashley was not in the nursing program, but upon the nursing instructor's advice, she was taking some classes at the community college that would help develop her science skills and so that she would not have to reapply for admission. She was still working "part-time" at the nursing home 60 hours a week.

Ashley, Six Months After Fourth Semester:

Ashley was still working at the nursing home. She applied for the fall 2000 nursing program, but she will not know if she is admitted until May or June.

Interpretation

According to JTPA standards, Hank, Ashley, Mary, and Anna are the least successful students because they either failed a semester, had to drop some classes along the way that delayed completion of an associate degree, or had to add developmental classes that delayed completion within the prescribed two-year period. In Ashley and Hank's cases, their failure of the third-semester in the nursing program resulted in their having to "sit out" their spring, fourth semester and reapply to the fall program. During the time they were sitting out and their repeat of third semester, JTPA did not pay. Once they started the fourth semester, however, JTPA resumed its funding. In Mary and Anna's situation, both dropped some classes along the way that delayed their completion. Mary's son and his catastrophic health problems forced her to drop from full-to-part-time status in two semesters. Anna had to take some developmental math classes that delayed her completion.

All four of these participants believe in the achievement ideology as described by Jay MacLeod (1987). Achievement ideology promotes American society as open and fair and full of opportunity. In this view, success is based on merit, and economic inequality is due to differences in ambition and ability. Individuals do not inherit their social status; they attain it on their own. Since education ensures equality of opportunity, the ladder of social mobility is there for all to climb. According to MacLeod (1987), however, the social class into which one is born has a massive influence on where one will end up. Although mobility between classes does take place, the overall structure of class relations from one generation to another remains largely unchanged.

MacLeod (1987) believes that the concept of leveled aspirations explains how class inequality is reproduced from one generation to the next. Because aspirations mediate what an individual desires and what society can offer, the hopes of the boys described in MacLeod's research are tied to their assessment of the opportunities available to them. The Hallway Hangers had few aspirations of a better life. Their habitus, defined by Pierre Bourdieu (1977), the term's originator, as "a system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions" had been shaped by family's and friends' lack of belief in achievement ideology (p. 82). As a result, they expected nothing from the dominant culture—no belief in the importance of education to a better life, no expectation of improving their living standards, no hope for high aspirations. They salvage some self-esteem because they are not "duped" by the ideology; however, the Hallway Hangers forfeit any chance for individual advancement. The Brothers' habitus, on the other hand, had been shaped by parents' and friends' belief in the achievement

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ideology because habitus, according to Bourdieu (1977), disposes individuals to think and act in certain ways. Even though family and friends may have not experienced it for themselves, they believed it existed and encouraged others to pursue it. Because the Brothers believe in the ideology and are unaware of the structural constraints, the Brothers are prone to blame themselves for their plight of not achieving their aspirations. However, because the mechanisms of social reproduction hinder, rather than block, the Brothers, some of them may break into the middle class.

The setting for MacLeod's (1989) study was Clarendon Heights, a low-income housing project in which he immersed himself to study two gangs, the Brothers and the Hallway Hangers. The study focuses primarily on the part aspirations play in social reproduction. The more conventional Brothers, of whom all but one are black, have the more acceptable standards of behavior and strive to fulfill socially approved roles such as attending high school regularly, refraining from smoking, drinking, or using drugs and staying out of jail. The tough, streetwise Hallway Hangers, of whom all but one are white, consist of five boys who dropped out of school, two who graduated, and one still in high school. They all smoke, drink, use drugs, and all but two have been arrested. Interestingly, because of social reproduction, the Brothers had no more opportunities than the Hallway Hangers, even though the Brothers had more conventional behavior. The Brothers still lived in the Projects, were denied employment opportunities because of race, and still had limited access to services to help them with career and academic plans. The Brothers had reproduced their social class, despite their aspirations and belief in the system.

So how are the experiences of Anna, Hank, Ashley, and Mary similar to that of the Brothers? All believed in the achievement ideology, all had friends and families that believed anything could be achieved with hard work and effort, and all were unaware of the structural constraints impinging on their aspirations.

Anna wanted a good paying job, so she attended a one-year, for profit, electronics trade school that cost $16,000. She was guaranteed a job at the end of the training. Upon completion of the training, she was hired at minimum wage; she could barely live on that, much less begin to repay the exorbitant school loan. One year later, the company where she worked shut down. Anna had nothing but a $16,000 debt that had started accumulating interest. Next, she took a job at a plastics extrusion factory that she abhorred, but she made "good" money. She felt that the conditions were so intolerable that she began to try to get herself fired by showing up late or not showing up at all. Finally, her supervisor confronted her, and she told them the story. The company allowed her to resign so she could collect unemployment. Searching the want ads, she happened upon the JTPA ad and felt this was an answer to her prayers. She wanted more education, knew she needed more education, but because of the outstanding loan from the trade school, was ineligible for any further federal or state loans. If JTPA would pay for her education, this would solve her dilemma. Currently, she will graduate with an associate degree in August 2000; after that, she hopes to continue working in the insurance office.

Anna's habitus was shaped by her parents' belief in the achievement ideology. Her father had worked three jobs so the family could get ahead. Her parents believed that college was the way to a better job; therefore, Anna internalized the need for a bachelor's

degree in improving her chances for a "home in the suburbs, a nest egg for the future." In the first interview, Anna expressed the desire to work for a large corporation in a larger city than the one in which she lived. At the second interview, however, she seemed to have settled for continuation of her insurance company job at the end of her community college graduation. As a function of structural constraints, Anna's mobility is affected; as a result, her aspirations seem to have been compromised.

Hank's situation is certainly similar to that of the Brothers. He believed in unlimited opportunities for those who set goals and work hard. Popular culture such as TV's ER and the movie Patch Adams provided the momentum for those aspirations. Hank identified with the characters and longed to be part of the drama and excitement. He had originally entered the nursing field because he had been a medic in the military and had been fulfilled by "helping people." As a result, he worked at a hospital as a phlebotomist and started attending the nursing program at the community college. He wanted to be more than a "blood taker," as he said. Because he had a family of five to support, he had to work full time to supplement the money from his Pell grant. As a phlebotomist, he earned minimum wage. As a result of his financial situation, Hank did not have enough hours in the day to work full time, go to school full time, be a father and a husband, and still have time to study; consequently, he failed third semester of the nursing program. He was so discouraged that he gave away all of his books and blamed himself entirely for not studying more and harder. Hank appeared to be unaware of the structural constraints impinging on his aspirations.

If he should fail this fourth semester, Hank will surely drop out, his aspirations leveled by his perceived inability to study harder or more. He would probably continue

working as a phlebotomist although it lacks the status or financial reward that he desires. As a result, despite his efforts to better himself and undertake the conventional middle class route to social mobility, Hank would find himself no better off financially than before he began college. If, however, he passes the fourth semester, he has been assured of a job where he currently works. A nurse's salary is sufficient to make a difference in a family's finances; too, "nurse" provides the status for which Hank longs.

Mary's situation is not as obviously similar to the Brothers, although there are some hidden similarities. Mary researched the field of electronics technology and concluded that she had to enter that field because that was the only job training offered by JTPA/community college that would pay off enough at the end of the training for her to be self-sufficient. There is no doubt that she believes in the realm of "possibility," and that good things come to those who work hard; however, she is more astute in the recognition that some jobs pay living wages, and some do not. She is definitely following the conventional route to social mobility. There is nothing to suggest that she will not graduate unless her son's condition worsens to the extent that she has to drop out of school. However, even with a salary of $12.00 per hour and a medical card for her son, Mary will probably not improve her financial status. She will have unexpected costs of her son's illness that the medical card will not cover, but, more important, she may be denied access to a job because of her need to be at home with her son so frequently. Absenteeism, for any reason, is not part of the American work ethic. Even after working hard to achieve a job that she perceives will enable her to be self-sufficient, her aspirations may be leveled when she realizes that the pay off in the end is insufficient to provide a comfortable living.

Ashley's situation is definitely similar on a superficial level. She failed third semester of nursing. As with Hank, the failure made her seriously doubt her ability to do the program. While "laying out" for a semester, she is working part-time at a nursing home at minimum wage. This part-time job usually results in forty-to-sixty-hour weeks. In addition, it appears that her husband is manipulating her. Her husband was hurt on the job when a crane boom hit him on the back. He received workers' compensation for a few months, and then he received a settlement of $20,000 when he sued the company for unsafe working conditions. Since that time, he has pursued the idea of building racecars for a living. Ashley reported in both interviews that I spoke with her that "he's just waiting for the phone call from the guy with money." Because he can't watch the child while he builds racecars, childcare arrangements are also Ashley's responsibility. Ashley has the additional stress of living in her in-laws' house where she and her family live in a basement apartment. Instead of paying rent, Ashley cooks for the entire family and cleans the upstairs. If Ashley fails the nursing program, she will be stuck in her financial status, regardless of how many hours and how hard she works.

So how are the participants' situations different from the group studied by MacLeod?

With the exception of Anna, the three other participants are Caucasian. Perhaps they did not have to confront the race barrier to upward mobility that so plagued the Brothers. None of the client-students indicated that race was a factor in any positive or negative experience as a client-student.

In addition, these participants have the advantage of access to financial, emotional, and academic support through their JTPA caseworker, although Mary had

limited contact with hers—"just to turn in the paperwork" as she said. Hank, Ashley, and Anna, however, all reported a close relationship with the JTPA caseworker. Ashley reported that her caseworker called to check up on her while she was not in the nursing program. That emotional support during such a tumultuous time in her life provided her with the incentive to continue the nursing program. With a debt of $20,000 looming overhead, Anna could have been overwhelmed. Her caseworker, however, was cognizant of the personal details of Anna's life and offered encouragement in the form of prayers, notes, and letters.

As with the Brothers, these four client-students face the structural determinants of social class, but also as the Brothers, the internal structure of their habitus gives rise to different expectations and actions. All four chose high aspirations; this agency resulted, in part, from variables such as JTPA caseworker support, community college teacher or advisor support, families' and friends' belief in and support of the achievement ideology entrenched in their habitus. According to MacLeod (1987), aspiration located in the habitus appears to be the mediating factor between constraints and agency. When the high aspirations do not result in an expected return in value, participants may compromise their expectations. Certainly the structural constraints of social reproduction compromise them.

Chapter Four

Participants Who Are Working Out of Their Field of Training: Kayla, Denise, and Beth

Kayla was the participant introduced in Chapter One. Despite the onlooker's perception of her success or lack thereof, Kayla reported pride for having achieved a college degree. "It's a dream come true that nobody can take away from me," she said. Regardless of whether she ever does anything more with that degree, whether she is ever able to make a living wage with that degree, she has changed her perception of herself and reported appreciation for her JTPA/community college experience.

Denise's Story as a Third-Semester Community College Student

When I first started this, I was a battered spouse and a divorced mother of three. I had to do this to prove to myself. All my life I've done things for other people; I'm doing this for Denise. Sometimes I get depressed. Going to school is worse than going to work. I'm going to take a little time off after I get my Associate's in May, and then I'm going to get my Bachelor's. I want to major in Social Work. I really want to work with abused children and women. I could just get in and be with them, play with the kids, talk to the women; that's what I'd love to do.

You have to be really strong to get out of an abusive relationship. I would never judge a woman for going back to an abusive relationship. There are a thousand and one reasons why a woman goes back. A lot of it is the law doesn't mean anything. The Emergency Protective Order doesn't mean a thing. Why they don't make it attempted murder, I don't know. At that point in time, there's no doubt in my mind that is exactly what it is. You can't tell me at that point the man doesn't want to kill the woman. Maybe

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later he doesn't, but right now he wants to kill. When they would bring my husband to court, they would never bring up all the EPOs he had violated. They would slap him on the wrist and let him go. It got so bad that if he beat me up, they would give him thirty days in jail, so I would plan to get beat up and then have some peace while he spent the next thirty days in jail. It was easier. I could raise my windows if I wanted to; mine was so bad that when I went out in the winter to start my car and then walked back into the house, the phone would ring, and he knew exactly what I was doing, what I was wearing. Everyone says they would just get up and leave, but it is not that easy. I tried for two years. He won't let me leave. He finally made the mistake of going to Ohio, and Ohio's laws are stricter. He beat up a girl there, and now he's in prison. But if I ran in to him right now, I'd be petrified. I would love to work with abused children and women because I could relate to them. You get to the point that you don't trust anybody either.

I just hope I can get my life back. I'm forty now. Like I said, I'm going to take some time off. I need my life back, and I have an eleven-year-old who needs his mommy back. He says, "Mommy, I miss you." He plays baseball and wants to play basketball. His ball schedule is that he plays basketball until 5:30, so Steve can pick him up while I go to class, but I have to wrangle my schedule to get him to practice. I sit him down and told him, "Jared, if I just make it to May, it will be okay." He sounds grown up, but he's really my baby. My seventeen and nineteen year-olds don't care if Mama is home or not.

When I first started college, I was working a minimum wage job, trying to raise three kids, on welfare, and after I met Steve, I wanted to go back to school. I had dropped out of high school. I went back for my GED, and I always wanted to come back. I just got sick of flipping burgers, ya know? Steve was my encouragement. He told me,

"Whatever you want to do, I'll stand behind you and I'll be there for you." And he was. Whenever I need someone to pick up Brian, he was there. It is probably the only selfish thing I've ever done in my life. The kids, even when I had a minimum wage job, they never complained. They was dressed nice, but they never had what the other kids had. I wanted to prove to them. I'm always preaching education, education, education. I make sure they go to school. If I had to, I'd take them by the hand and lead them to school every morning. They know I'd do it, too! So whenever they say, "Well, Mama, you quit," I can say "But I got my GED," so when I went back to college I wanted to prove to them it could be done. I'm forty, and it can be done. It's hard, real hard.

Without Steve, I don't know if I could've done it because when I get down, he's the one who says, "Get up; now, what do you want me to do? I'll do whatever you need for me to do--laundry, clean house, whatever--." He's great. I've been married twice. I was 17 when I got married. It was to get away from home. I lost my first baby when I was 19. I was married to him for seven years. I was married to my second husband for nine years, and it was one of those things. I loved him, he loved me, but not how I should have been loved. One day I just took a long look at myself and I thought to myself, "If I don't get my life back on track and if I don't get rid of him doing that to me, I'd rather die." I started getting my life back on track, and then Steve came into my life, and then I came to school.

You talk about nervous! That first day I had to come down here and take that test, I paced the floor back and forth, back and forth; I thought I was going to be sick to my stomach. I'm the type that doesn't like strange places or strange people. I almost didn't come. But then I said, "No, you have to do this. Just get in the car." So I got in the car

and drove down here, but I sat in the car for a long time before I ever came in. Now I love it. When I first started here, I started at the bottom. This is my third year. The first two years I was not in JTPA. See when my scores came back, they were really low, and I had to take a lot of pre classes. When I get my degree, I'm going to miss it. If there's anyway possible, I'm going to take at least one class per semester because I love it down here. I love the people. And the young kids? They're great. If you need help, they will help. But you know, it's funny; many times it's us helping the young kids because the young ones have other things on their minds. I'm having trouble in biology right now because I never took biology in high school. And the teacher? He's great. He really tries to help. He knows there are three of us in there and he knows we have a tough time. He is really great.

I'm so glad a friend of mine down here told me about JTPA. Well, Steve worked in the shoe factory. Well, when it went out, he had worked there for 16 years, and he lost his job. He was working construction, just whatever he could find; it was really tough. So I went down and talked to Danielle, the JTPA coordinator, and you know she said they hardly ever help anyone with an Associate of Arts, and she wanted me to prove to her that I could get me a job, so I went around to different places, and they said,"Yes, with an Associate of Arts you can do this and this and this." Once I proved there were jobs out there with just an Associate of Arts, then they said they would help me. At the time, I mean we had no insurance, so it was really hard. I didn't really think I was going to get to come back. If they hadn't helped with Steve losing his job, I wouldn't be here. These people? They really care. They pay childcare, would tell a single mom to take out financial aid, and don't even try to work because it's too hard to work and be a mom. Put

everything into your studies. You can give back later when the government takes the taxes out of that good job. There's a lot of people out there who couldn't do it if they didn't help because financial aid is so much, and by the time you take the books out, your gas, your childcare. There's nothing to live on, so JTPA really makes that possible. There are so many people that want to go to college. This gives them the opportunity to at least try. They're real friendly down there. I mean when you walk in there, you're a little timid, but when you walk in, they're on your level and they sit and talk to you. Danielle and I talked to each other for a long time. She knew my kids, and we'd talk about them. JTPA becomes like your family. The community college becomes like your family because they're so friendly; they're concerned. Just like Jackie--I've been trying to get a teacher's aide job here. Our school system is the type that you have to know this person to get a job, and Jackie asked me if I had gotten a job, and she said she'd put in a word for me. They're not like other government agencies. The ones I've dealt with, they're all at their desks and do what they have to do. They don't talk to you. They don't get to know you. Whatever is on the paper is all they know. JTPA doesn't do that. I do hope they put the office back at the college though because it's downtown and a lot of people don't like to drive downtown because of the streets. Of course I have a vehicle, but a lot of people don't. They have to take a bus.

I have to have a vehicle because I work at the Shell station. It's just a little country Shell station. It deals with a lot of farmers, you know, and stuff like that. Ninety per cent are regulars. I work about every day, no less than five hours a day and usually eight hours a day, sometimes ten. I run the cash register, the gas, credit cards, you cook food, you cook pizzas, make sandwiches--I mean just everything. I mean it's more than it

really looks like. And when Helena is there, it's really a lot more. I'm off on Sunday. And Helena let me off last weekend. That was the first weekend they let me off for the whole thing. It shocked me. I couldn't believe it. I got my lattice painted on my front porch.

We bought our land about two years ago. This was all wooded--the whole two acres, shrubs and trees. We went in there and cleared it out and put our mobile home right in the middle. There's still a lot of work. I love it because I lived in a subdivision. We have deer that come right up to the door. I'm up a little holler, we're all by ourselves, you know, nobody is around. I love it out there. It's about 20 minutes from school and about ten minutes from work. I'm not very far at all.

My two boys live at home, but my daughter moved out. Jack, my oldest will graduate from high school this spring. I know he won't go to college. I hope he'll go to the vocational school. He is so good working with stereos, but I don't know if he'll do it or not. Jack's not much on school. All that's on his mind is running around--making enough money for his car insurance and money to run on. That's all he cares about.

Denise, Three Months After Graduation

She was working at the Shell station, but she was taking some time off school. She still plans to start the Bachelor's degree next semester because she really wants to be a counselor to abused women.

Denise, Six Months After Graduation

Denise was still working at the Shell station; she has not given up on the idea of a Bachelor's degree. She reported that she had her application in at the abuse center but realizes that most of those jobs require a Bachelor's, but she's "still keeping her fingers

crossed." She also reported that she was very happy because "I'm alive, I have my children, and a great husband. We're better off financially now, but that don't mean nothing. You have to be happy with yourself first."

Beth's Story as a Third-Semester Community College Student

See what happened, I didn't pass the classes last fall, so I had to lay out a semester. So this year, I'm retaking those classes, and they're not paying for my tuition and books because they had already paid for it once. They are helping with transportation and anything else that I might need that they haven't already purchased for me; they would do that. Even though I live alone and have lived alone since my freshman year in college, they consider my mom and dad's income. This year I didn't get a CAPP grant because my mom and dad made too much money. Even though they don't help me at all, they wouldn't give me the grant. So I think that's a big problem. If I didn't have JTPA money, I wouldn't have been able to come back. Even though I worked last spring and last summer, there's still a big financial . . . I had to take out a loan this year anyway. I do get a Pell grant, but it was decreased because of Mom and Dad's income. If I were married or had a baby or if there were some type of abuse going on in the home to where I had to leave, but they say it was my option to leave, and it is my option to move back home, even though that's not so. You know I've paid for stuff on my own since high school, so it's not really an option, but that's how they see it.

That's why I had to keep the contact. If I wanted to come back in the fall, I had to maintain that contact. I failed by tenths of a point. It was just hard. I wasn't even sure I wanted to come back, but Sherry, my caseworker, kept calling me and asking, "Are you

coming back? You know you can do this." That helps. She's real inspirational. I just want to graduate in May, get a job and pay off some bills. Last year I was working at a doctor's office, and I was working too many hours to have enough time to study. This semester I'm working only 20, so it's much easier.

Beth, Three Months After Graduation

Beth failed her fourth semester of nursing school and moved away from the area. She did not personally respond to the follow-up query, but her friend, who is also one of my participants, responded on her behalf.

Beth, Six Months After Graduation

Beth did not attempt to return to nursing school. She is currently doing office work. Again, Beth did not respond; her friend obliged. At this point in the study, Beth appears to be the only participant who did not persist to completion of the associate degree. Prior to attending the community college, Beth had attended a small liberal arts four-year school. In her words, she "couldn't handle all the freedom," did not do well grade wise, and her parents made her come home. At that point in time, she "went it alone" and moved into her own place, worked, and went to school. She reported that without JTPA, this would have been impossible for she received little in financial aid because of her parents' income. She also reported the least contact with the caseworker. I suspect Beth felt that flunking out of a four-year school was not a humiliating experience; after all, it happens to a lot of people. When she flunked out of community college, she probably felt humiliated because her perception may have been that nobody flunks out of community college. At this point, her image of self was severely damaged.

Interpretation

Although these students were reported as "successful" by JTPA accountability standards because they had a job, they probably could not be considered as successful as the ones working in the field for which they had been trained; otherwise, what would be the purpose of selecting a job that is reported as an "in-demand" job for their particular community.

All three women may be representative of Burton Clark's (1960) "cooling out" theory. Clark's theory is based upon the premise that through a sequence of procedures, students' hopes can be let down gently and without anger. Through the process, students' occupational and academic futures are redefined. Along the way, teacher/counselors urge students to give up their plan of transferring. The drawn-out denial, when it is effective, is in place of a personal, hard "No"; the student "decides" to ease out of the competition for transfer. Clark feels that there are five cooling out features.

"Alternative achievement" refers to providing a substitute route that appears not too different from what is given up. The person who fails is invited to interpret the second effort as more appropriate to his/her particular talent and is made to see that it will be less frustrating. For instance, perhaps a person is led to believe that an engineering aide is not much different than an engineer; engineering aide has a status all its own.

"Gradual disengagement" is the second feature. By a series of gradual steps, movement to a goal may be stalled, self-assessment encouraged, and evidence produced of performance that will convince the student to give up peacefully. Denise is an example of gradual disengagement. She obtained an Associate of Arts degree, but it took

her three years because she had to take so many developmental courses. In and of itself, an Associate of Arts degree is not worth a great deal in financial return. With JTPA funds expended, Denise will have to find other monies to continue a Bachelor's degree. In addition, she would have to commute an hour and a half one way to access a four-year college. In Denise's case, she had so much "catching up" to do in the way of developmental courses, that her ability to transfer was suspect from the beginning. Denise was made to feel happy about her accomplishment of an associate degree because she had had such a long road to travel to that end. If Denise had had the cultural capital of a middle-class background, she would have questioned the likelihood of completing a bachelor's degree given all the economic obstacles. Of course, if she had the middle-class cultural capital, she probably would not have had the financial obstacles in the first place. Either she would already be in a financial position to transfer, or she would have had the awareness to pursue financial help, either from lending institutions, family members, or state/federal financial aid routes.

Clark calls the third feature "objective denial." This refers to a confrontation with the facts. A record of poor performance helps to detach the organization and its agents from the emotional aspects of the cooling-out work. Beth seemed to be an example of objective denial. She had failed one of the semesters of the nursing program once but was encouraged to return and try again. Clark would probably say that she was "confronted with the facts" when she failed the second time. She wanted to be a nurse, but the evidence against her kept accumulating. She left school entirely.

The fourth feature is termed "agents of consolation." Counselors are available who are patient with the over ambitious and who work to change their intentions in a

"soft" way. For instance, perhaps a student wants to be an accountant. If that student is placed into the lowest remedial math class, that means that student has to take three remedial classes, for a total of three extra semesters, before that student being academically "ready" to pursue College Algebra. The counselor might encourage that student all through the remedial math classes, knowing that the likelihood was slight that she would ever be an accountant. While the student was taking the remedial classes, however, the counselor might suggest a shadowing experience with a secretary or to suggest sitting in on an office systems class. Perhaps the student would "decide" that she might enjoy being a secretary.

Clark refers to the last feature as "avoidance of standards." This is a cooling-out process that avoids appealing to standards. For instance, the counselor or academic advisor might suggest another occupation that would not require the higher-level math or science classes. At the same time, the counselor would try to point out the merits of such a job. In Kayla's case, perhaps a counselor or advisor did not feel that Kayla had the ability to become a social worker. The counselor may have suggested a Human Services degree as an alternative because Human Services required Applied Math while the Associate of Arts degree required College Algebra. In perhaps convincing her of the merit of this degree change, the counselor might outline the value of a Human Services degree—the opportunity to help the less fortunate. As a result, Kayla may have been steered into a program of lesser standards but convinced of its value to society. A "soft" treatment assumes that many kinds of ability are valuable, each in its place. Proper classification and placement are then paramount. Clark believes that the cooling out function of the community college must be kept hidden as other functions are

highlighted, such as the transfer function and the terminal function. He feels that in reality the junior college does not transform transfer students into terminal ones, which is implicit in its advertised mission (p. 575).

Burton Clark's Cooling Out Theory is yet another example of social reproduction. Clark helped show that schools play a crucial role in legitimating inequality by internalizing failure. The structure of the educational system upholds those meritocratic values that justly differential reward, and the separation of the "successful" from the "failures" provides lessons in inequality. The purpose of the drawn-out counseling is for the students to switch out of the transfer program by their own choice. If students can be persuaded to take themselves out of the competition without being forced out of it through failing, they are much more likely to retain a benign view of the sorting process.

Certainly some participants in this research could be viewed as "cooled out," but to dismiss them as such without looking at how they were different from Clark's typical cooled out students would not be representative of their stories.

Kayla and Denise were similar in many respects. Both lived histories of abuse; both wanted to be social workers so they could help others; and both were constrained by family responsibilities. Both saw college as a place to "become somebody"; the previous conditions of their lives had not allowed this achievement. Both women had been submerged in oppressive relationships. Having been encouraged to stifle the development of their "selves" for the sake of families, these women returned to school in order to gain the knowledge and dignity previously denied them. The very act of going to college was an act of agency, an attempt to confirm what they had always doubted, that they were somebody. The community college and the JTPA partnership provided a site

for their altered self-perception. And yet, schools are sites of cultural production, places where only certain styles of selves and knowledge are authorized.

Philip Wexler (1992) looked at how different styles of self and knowledge are authorized, depending upon the characteristics of the school itself. In his ethnography of three high schools, he showed how each school, defined as working class, professional middle class, and urban underclass produced its own set of student understandings about self. He analyzed how each school was organized in distinct, if unintended institutional and pedagogical ways to attack the self. As a result, students strived to "create a visible, differentiated and reputable self" as the primary activity in school (p. 132).

> In their own words, students are trying to "become somebody." They want to be Somebody, a real and presentable self, anchored in the verifying eyes of friends whom they come to school to meet. . . their central and defining activity in school is to establish at least the image of an identity. "Becoming somebody" is an action in the public sphere, and this is what life in high school is about (p. 155).

I certainly agree with Wexler that students' attempts to create a self and have this creation of self be recognized and valued by others is what life is all about in high school, but I believe that can be extended to any level of schooling. While Wexler emphasizes how students produce a defensive self against the institutional and pedagogical attacks, my emphasis is different. I believe Wexler's work can be applied to the JTPA/community college partnership and the formation of self-perception.

For instance, how does one go about trying to become Somebody in a community college as opposed to how one tries to become Somebody in a four-year college? As discussed in Chapter Two, overall, community college students do not have the economic, academic, and cultural capital as do students of higher socioeconomic status who tend to attend four-year schools. As a result, just the ability, as in Denise's case, to

force herself to drive down to the college, park her car, and walk into the building would be appreciated and recognized as a step in becoming Somebody by peers at the community college. Peers who had little experience with higher education, who were first-generation college students, who had unpleasant experiences in the public schools, who had to decide whether to buy gas or lunch, and who would take a beating just to get their husbands locked up for thirty days would give her positive recognition for this action and validate this step in becoming Somebody. Four-year college students, with a different set of ways to establish an identity, would probably not be as likely to recognize the importance of the action of parking a car and walking into the building. Of course, those students may perhaps have equally daunting challenges, but they would be different from those facing community college students. Ultimately, school cultures reproduce themselves, and one's idea of self is formed from that culture.

When JTPA is added to the community college, the way to establish an image or identity changes. In fact, based an all of my participants' accounts, the addition of JTPA makes it easier to form a positive self-perception. JTPA provides a caseworker whose function is to support academically and emotionally the educational pursuit of the clients. Even though some participants had more contact with their JTPA caseworker than others, all reported appreciation for the encouragement and support. Denise went from suffering angst about how she would fit in at the college to displaying confidence in her ability to achieve and persist in her biology class. She credits her caseworker with helping her to believe in herself. Having a personal cheerleader for two years makes it easier to form a positive self-perception, a positive self-perception that appears to persist at least six

months beyond the two-year community college and JTPA experience, according to these participants' accounts.

Even though Kayla and Denise are not working in the field they originally intended, both were proud of their attainment of an associate degree. In their minds, supported by the community college and JTPA, they became "Somebody," for they achieved a goal that seemed remote-to-impossible when they first entered college.

Viewing the participants' experiences strictly from the vantage of Burton Clark, social reproduction would appear to explain their outcome. These participants, however, became agents, producing a sense of self that belies the deterministic, passivity of the social reproduction model. Human beings are not "models." They think, feel, and react. Denise rejected the Human Capital, JTPA/Community College view of the world when she said, "I'm alive, I have my children, and a great husband. We're better off financially now, but that don't mean nothing. You have to be happy with yourself first." Social reproduction theorists, perhaps, need to take into account the cultural milieu in which constraints interact before predicting an outcome. Perhaps the client-students did not achieve the desired outcome of JTPA, to become workers in the fields for which they had been trained; perhaps they were disappointed that the community college credential did not result in increased status or economic capital; and perhaps they were compromised by systems that seemed to promise one thing but deliver another. On the other hand, the client-students' cultural milieu, bolstered by the JTPA/community college partnership, enabled them to produce a new sense of self.

Chapter Five

Participants Who Graduated and are Working in Their Field: Rhonda, Janet, Sandy, Marsha, Jean

Rhonda's Story as a Third-Semester Community College Student:

I got married when I was 16, quit school, got pregnant when I was 17, had a baby when I was 18, and right after that started working at Hanes, one of the best factories for a woman to work at in this area. My mother worked at Hanes and had worked there her whole life, and she got me the job. Just had an 11th grade education. Since I had quit school, I felt like I had to go to work now. Crazy, crazy. If only I had it to do over. I worked at Hanes for nine years. The last two years I was a workaholic--they pay by the piece. Well, I started getting tendonitis in my arm and then my shoulders, so I doctored with it for a couple of years. They told me as long as I did that kind of work I could expect to keep it. Knock on wood since I quit Hanes and went to school, I haven't had any more trouble. After I quit that kind of repetitive motion, it stopped bothering me. I never thought I'd be in school, never thought I'd quit Hanes. Thought I'd live and die there.

Well, now this is a funny story. Several years before I quit Hanes, my ex-husband he had a job opportunity at Spencer's; well it just so happened that he had to have his GED. So I thought since he was going I'd go with him. Never studied, just went down. Both of us took our GED's. I passed and he didn't. You know what he done? He told all of our friends that they had our tests mixed up and he passed and I failed. I'm serious. He never did go back and try again. My ex-husband quit school in the 9th grade. I mean he's just pitiful.

Well, anyway, that's what gave me my foot in the door at Hanes. Never thought I'd use it to further my education. When I was in school years ago, I thought I wanted to be a teacher. After I realized I had to quit Hanes and realized I had to do something else, I've always worked other jobs in retail. I sold Avon during the years I was at Hanes, I done Home Interior parties for a couple of years I was at Hanes, and then I got into fun parties, so that's what put me here with my lingerie shop. When I quit Hanes, I knowed my first step was to further my education, so I started back to school not knowing what my goal was. Rehab was paying for school. My husband was very much against me doing anything except working at Hanes or teaching school. He said, "OK, you go back to school, but you go into teaching," so when I went back I thought I was going into teaching; I did a couple of semesters. When we got divorced, that's when I decided to go into business.

Well, I was newly divorced, a single parent raising a son, and I heard JTPA helped people like me. Just point blank, if it wasn't for JTPA and Rehab, I wouldn't have been able to go to school. Rehab helps finance, but that's the extent; they don't really try to get involved with people's lives. JTPA gets involved with students' lives. They are mentally supportive of people in all aspects to help people get a degree to better themselves to find better jobs. They help you with your tuition, they help you with your books which are very expensive, they help nurses with uniforms and stuff, that aspect. If you're having problems in anything, they had a lot of different training programs and stuff, seminars and stuff that you can attend. I think one of the particular programs I went to was about building self-esteem. I think that helped a lot of people. A lot of people in higher places like the Unemployment Office for example, has a tendency to make some people feel like "I'm giving you this. This is my money to you." JTPA has always been like "This money is for you. You have earned it; you deserve it. This is your gift from all of us." You know what I'm saying? Years ago I never did draw much

unemployment, but every time I had to go sign up for it, it made me feel like, like "This is *our money." They make you feel like, oh, you know.*

All through the semester, though, my JTPA caseworker calls me and says, "How's it going? Hang in there; you can do it." There are so many who come back to school, they don't realize what's involved. These young people come right out of high school; they take so much for granted. Myself, I have been in the work field and been out there to see and know. Just like my son who is 14. He could care less about school.

JTPA requires a full load--12 hours, but up until this semester, I had been taking five and I have taken as many as six, but trying to work and keep up, that's hard, so now I'm just taking four classes. My shop takes a lot of hours. I mean when I'm not working at the shop, I'm home working on stuff that pertains to work. I study when I can. That's an advantage of being your own boss. One of my friends, he's a manager at Lutz Restaurant, and he told me he was working 60 hours per week and going to school, and I asked him when he studied, and he said, "I don't." Unlike me, he can't just get out his book. A lot of people at the college have to work jobs. You know if I don't have a customer, I can pull out a book. I make A's, B's, C's, but I had only an 11th grade education coming in and I had to take a lot of development classes. They helped, but they don't count for anything.

Soon I'll have my two-year degree in Business Management, and as of right now, I've accomplished everything I've wanted--I'm my own boss, I have my own business. It's not much, it's small, but it pays the bills. I plan to own several businesses. Someday I'll be owning and managing, and having other people work for me.

Rhonda, Three Months After Graduation:

Rhonda was still managing her fun shop and had plans to open another in a few months. She was very happy as her own boss and credited JTPA for giving her the business opportunity.

Rhonda, Six Months After Graduation:

Rhonda reported that she now owns two fun shops, and she has moved the location of the first one. She again credited JTPA for the financial and emotional support that made it possible for her to realize her dream, specifically her caseworker with building her self-esteem sufficiently to give her the necessary courage to go back to school. No one tried to talk her out of her fun shop. Instead, JTPA and college teachers encouraged her to obtain the business management degree because she had indicated a proclivity for retail. She said that JTPA "got involved with people's lives" and didn't try to make participants feel beholden for the financial help. She also credits her teachers with giving her the knowledge to start a business and make a go of it

Janet's Story as a Third-Semester Community College Student:

I had been baby-sitting; I had been doing that for like three years and it got to the point that I was going nuts, and my kids were going nuts. It was back during the flood that I saw an ad in the paper that JTPA was hiring people to clean up from the flood, so I did that. I spent all summer cleaning up, and my case manager was Sherry McKee, and Sherry told me if you want to go to school when you finish this, we'll help you. I thought that would be nice because I had gone to school for a year and a half and then I got married, moved, and never went back. After the summer clean up, Sherry gave me a list of things I needed to do and people to call to get into school with JTPA. So the JTPA coordinator at the college set me up for the test and when she found that I wanted the Office Systems major, she got me the curriculum. When I got to looking, I had a lot of transfer hours from Dees College so I got my transcript and the JTPA coordinator and my academic advisor sat down with me and said, "This will count, this will count," so there were a lot of things I didn't have to take because they transferred in. And now, I'll graduate in May. I can't believe it.

I hope I get to stay here and work. With my degree program, I have to do an

internship, and I was doing mine in the President's office, and she got together with the Human Resources director, and they both needed someone but they didn't have it in the budget for both of them to have a full-time person. What they decided was to put me half time in both offices but keep it classified as a full-time position. Of course, I had to go through the application and interview process and everything like that. I was working in the President's office one day and the two of them had gone into her office, so I knew they were discussing this position. There were in there what seemed like forever, so I started thinking there was no way I had the job because they had been in there too long, but they both came out smiling and offered me the position. It just worked out really well. They told me they put this job in the budget for a full time permanent position, but we won't know anything until June. I like it here, and the people are so nice.

It will be nice to graduate and have a little time off. The position here at the college won't start until July 1 if I get it. My three children all play summer ball; summer is hectic driving them to ballgames. They all play at different fields! My husband helps when he can, but he works from 5:30 at night until 6 in the morning, so the running with the kids mostly gets left to me.

This place means so much to me. JTPA has meant everything to me. Financially, I did not have the money to go to school. They paid my tuition, they paid for daycare, they paid mileage from my house to here; I wasn't out anything. If it wasn't for them, I couldn't have done it. The only thing I had to buy was like paper and pencils. Without them, there's no way. Even with financial aid, I could not have done it. And the JTPA coordinator? She's here on campus, and her door is always open. She's more than an advisor; she's our friend, too, and we know we can go to her no matter what. Anything you need, they're there for you. I mean if I had needed a tutor, they could have gotten me a tutor. I mean there's nothing more they could do besides sit there beside you the whole time. They've done it all.

My grades have really been good, too. I'm proud. I was even nominated for Who's Who last semester--I'm a Who! It goes by leadership, the way you act in the classroom, activities you are involved in and things like that. I'm a lot happier than what I was before I came to school. Whenever I first started, that was one of the first things Steve said. He said, "I can already tell a big difference in you." Two years ago I didn't care if I sat in the house and cooked all day, did laundry, and cleaned house, but now it's like since I've been back in school I can't stand to sit in the house.

What's neat are all the people who are proud of me--my kids, my husband, my father. Back during the holidays my mom had to have surgery, and we were in Louisville with her. Me and my sister and dad went down to the cafeteria and it was like we didn't know who the lady was at the register, but she was teasing him because my sister Donna was in front of him and she was asking him to pay for her supper, and he was telling the lady at the register how proud he was of her because she was the perfect honor student and stuff like that, and then he looked back at me, and he said, "And this one; I'm very proud of her too," and he started telling her about some of the things I had done, and that was the first time Daddy had ever said anything. I mean he had never said a word all this time. I knew he was proud of me because of the way he acted, but as far as being vocal about it, and then to tell a stranger, it really felt good. I sat there and cried. Steve looked at me and said, "It's okay, you know."

Janet, Three Months After Graduation

Janet reported that the funding for the job at the college did not materialize; therefore, she planned to take the summer off and spend it having fun with her children. At the end of the summer she would start job hunting.

Janet, Six Months After Graduation

Janet reported that she had a wonderful job with the county Board of Education. She was able to utilize all the skills she had mastered working in the President's office at the community college with the exception of PeopleSoft, a new bookkeeping system on which she had received a week's worth of training.

Sandy's Story as a Third-Semester Community College Student

I live by myself in a mobile home, and I could not have funded college without JTPA. Getting the information out to students about programs like JTPA, and grants should start in high school. High school students need to know their options concerning grants and loans. You can concentrate so much more on college if you don't have to worry about financial problems. JTPA is to help people who need the help and deserve the help because you know you do have to meet requirements. I mean I think it really helps people who are determined to make something of their lives. When I call my caseworker, I don't have to go through 20 people to tell her what I need to tell her; I can actually call her and talk to her. JTPA is more relationship than other governmental agencies. For instance, Sherry, my caseworker says that all problems have solutions, and her job is to help find solutions. She gives me advice about staying focused, reprioritizing life so that it doesn't seem important to get the housework done on a daily basis. You don't have that kind of support as far as academic advisors. I think advisors should be more approachable than ours are. I mean I'm not ridiculing the college, but if you just have one person that will listen, I think that is very important. Last year Sherry gave me a book about grants for nursing. I never knew it existed. No one here ever mentioned it to me. People not in JTPA are sort of lost when it comes to help they can get. Some people don't go to college because they say they can't afford it, but I think if they only knew. I should be a financial aid advisor! There are all kinds of things people

can do. I think it should be mandatory that students attend a session on grants, loans, and base it on different careers.

When I first started here, I took the placement test, and they put me in remedial math, and you don't get any college credit, so I refused it. If I take the class I need and fail it, I'll take it again. If I take it and pass, though, I've saved both time and money.

I've really grown up a lot since I started college. You look at things a lot differently as opposed to high school. Your views change. I want my four-year degree, but I want to work as a nurse first and work the floor, and then I want to be head nurse after I have my four-year degree.

Sandy, Three Months After Graduation:

Sandy was working as an RN at the Dialysis Center. She gave JTPA credit for her achievement.

Sandy, Six Months After Graduation:

Sandy is still working as an RN at the Dialysis Center. She and her boyfriend purchased some land; they plan to be married summer 2000 and build a house.

Marsha's Story as a Third-Semester Community College Student:

I went to college right after high school and absolutely hated it. I hated the town, the classes, everything. I spent a good part of my time partying and flunked out the first semester. My parents were not happy, so I decided to go to Atlanta and get a job. I was a nanny for six years, and then I got pregnant and moved back home to have the baby. I moved out when the baby was born. I moved in with another woman and babysat some until my roommate happened to mention to a neighbor that I needed a full time job or training or something. My neighbor told me JTPA had paid for all her college, and I said, "Wow, how could I do that?" So I just looked it up in the phone book and called JTPA and said, "Do you think I'm eligible?" They asked me about three questions, and said, "Yes, come on in and fill out the paperwork." They would pay my tuition, my books,

transportation, and childcare. And I couldn't believe it, I absolutely couldn't believe it. That was great. So I started looking into four-year colleges offering specialized training, and I liked this one the best. So I went into Office Systems, and I love it. The teachers have been great, everybody is just really friendly. I have a 4.0 GPA, and I'll graduate in May.

I have a couple of things on the table when I graduate--going on for my Bachelor's degree maybe. Of course, having to come up with the money especially for childcare is--I have to say the childcare has been the biggest blessing. I didn't realize that when I first started getting in with all this. It's a huge amount of money, but I know there will be some grants, student loans, things like that can cover my tuition if I decide to go on. But there's nothing to pay for childcare if I decide to continue my education, so I must say JTPA having childcare has been the biggest blessing. I'm interested in the legal field. We have to do 240 hours of coop work to get my Office Systems degree. I did that with a law firm in Lexington. I actually won a scholarship to be able to work there, so I'm interested in the legal field, and I'm also interested in some accounting. I have a job right now with an accounting firm in Atlanta. I do some accounts receivable, accounts payable, and send out the monthly bills, that type of thing, and it's a possibility it could work into a full-time job after I graduate. That's what they would like to happen, but I'm just not sure I want to move to Atlanta. Most of what I do right now I do at home because we have a computer network set up, so it's great, but I have to go down there about three or four days at the end of the month to actually print out the clients' bills and get them in the mail. I probably work about 20 hours a week, ballpark. It pays well, I can do most of it during the month with my little boy running around, and I have lots of friends in Atlanta, so it's fun to make the trip down there so I can see everybody.

I have been very blessed not to have to work full time while I've been a student. I mean there's no way I could have maintained a 4.0 if I had to work full time. That would just be too much with a three-year-old and everything else going on. I also teach

computer software classes like Powerpoint, Excel, internet courses for the college in continuing education. Believe it or not, teaching is good money for the number of hours in the position. My teachers here helped me get the job; they recommended me.

I'm going to miss this college. I'm secretary of Alpha Kappa Mu, and I'm in a professional secretaries' organization. We have about 40 members in Alpha Kappa Mu. It's a great resource as far as scholarships, and it's recognized nationally and internationally. We do fund raisers for the community, and you know it looks good on the resume!

I can't say enough good about JTPA. I haven't had much involvement with them; I mean I turn in my paperwork and everything on time. Maybe they're more involved with people who need more involvement. I just know I have a much better outlook on life. I feel with my education I'll be able to provide a good future for my son. I feel much more self-confident. I feel like I'll be ready to go into the job market and feel successful, and I really feel that I'll have my pick of jobs, but I really think I would like to go on to school because I know if I wait, it will be that much harder to go back and pick it up, *plus I know I'll be able to get a scholarship with a 4.0. I just wish JTPA would pay for the second two years!*

Marsha, Three Months After Graduation

Marsha moved to Atlanta where she took a job as administrative assistant at a large church with 4000 members. She reported that she was "totally happy," and that JTPA had "truly blessed her."

Marsha, Six Months After Graduation

Marsha reported that she still enjoyed her job as administrative assistant at the church. In addition to that job, she had resumed doing the payroll for the lawyer she had previously worked for while she lived in Kentucky.

Jean's Story as a Third-Semester Community College Student

I had a change of life. I got divorced and am now a single parent. I needed to

upgrade my education so I could get a job that I could support my family with. This lady at the church where I was volunteering knew I needed something, so she said, "You should go back to school." She gave me all the information on how to get registered and all that. I had been here a semester before I realized that JTPA would help. See, I had been struggling to make ends meet with what I had. Another lady who had been involved with JTPA told me about it, and she had been in the program herself. She said, "They will help you." I was in a dilemma--I could either get my roof repaired or pay my tuition, so I called up the caseworker for JTPA and she got me started in the program. Since JTPA paid my tuition, I was able to get my roof repaired with the PELL grant money. They've been so good to me.

When I first came back to college, I was scared because I thought being my age, I was going to be in there with all those 18-year-olds and I just knew I was going to be like everybody else's grandmother. But as it turned out, nontraditional students are more prevalent than I thought. There are several people out here my age. I thought I'd have difficulty getting back into class work after 25 years, but I'm really enjoying it. I was looking at it as a chore--a means to an end--but I'm really enjoying it, and I'm going to miss it because going to college, it's just good for your self-esteem. After you've been home raising children for years, to go back to school, to get back out in the workforce, it's a form of relief. Getting in like this I think has really given me an edge in the job market. I feel more employable. I can tell a big difference in the way I dress and conduct myself. I even learned how to get in and out of a car. You would think a basic instinct would tell you how to get in and out of a car, but I don't know. We get comfortable with our little habits. Just like I'm a nail biter. Ms. Peters fussed at me saying, "Don't you bite your nails or put your fingers in your mouth while you are talking to somebody," but it's just a habit I never even realized. We learned how to shake hands and what to say and what not to say at an interview. I'm not one to say I'm good at this and that, but Ms. Peters said at the interview you have to blow your own horn. You have

to say, "I'm good with this, and I can do that," but that's hard for me because I'm not that kind. In my family nobody ever hopped up and said, "I'm the best at this or that." We considered it ill mannered, and I don't like people who are always bragging. I find that offensive, so I was too backward about it. You can say things without being arrogant about it.

I am looking forward to a well paying office job. I have worked office work before, but it was a small office. My past work is mainly through the church and mainly volunteer instead of paid and so it will be a different thing to be a career lady. I knew my age and appearance were going to hurt me because in front office jobs they want young and attractive, and I'm neither, so I knew up front what I was facing, but that is what I really wanted. Too, the job market in this area--it's not the best job market for office. I hope I don't have to move to get a good job. I've lived here all my life. I own a home here. I've raised my children here. And at my age I'm not ready to move across the country. Plus, we're a close-knit family. Very few ever stray out of the immediate area. If I did that, they would wonder what happened to me! Oh, it's not really an option I care to explore. I can't say I'm never going to do it because financially if there's no job, then there wouldn't be much choice. You have to go where the jobs are.

My dad would have been so proud if he could see me graduate. He always wanted me to go college. I'll be the first in my family to graduate. Dad graduated from high school, and he was a farmer's son, so that was even more significant because they were always taking him out of school to help farm. He was a very intelligent man even though he didn't have a college degree. He was as intelligent as any college-educated person I ever met. He put a lot of emphasis on college, and I broke his heart when I didn't go to college. Now my mother was supportive, but not necessarily supportive of education because she was uneducated; she never went to school. She couldn't read or write and she had a hearing problem. Back then if there was anything wrong with you, you didn't go to school. She encouraged me in everything. Her child was perfectly

lovely, smart, and could do no wrong. This wasn't good because I thought I was beautiful until I went to school, and then I realized that Mom was wrong. She didn't teach me realism. Up until the day she passed away, I was her beautiful, wonderful child. And I guess that was okay. It's good to have someone who loved you unconditionally. I had a good upbringing, good parents, but I was impetuous, and I got married instead of going on to school and lived to regret it. I was a late bloomer. I did all the wrong things first and now---if only I had listened.

You know one of the things I learned about being here and involved with JTPA is finding out there are people out there who care whether people like me get to go back to school or not. There is a government agency who's willing--I mean the people at JTPA--I don't know if it's typical or just here, but they're really kind and helpful. It's not just like some government agencies where they look at you like "What rock did you crawl out from under?" They treat you like an equal. They do everything they can. It's comforting to know that there are people out there who want to help people like me get back out in the job market with an education. I mean I think that's the way it should have been all along. There would have been a lot less problems with welfare if we had work programs and things instead of just "Here take the money and go home."

Of course, some people always abuse the system. That's probably why they're changing JTPA. They should screen their applicants a little more carefully. I don't know how, but a stopgap needs to be there. This program helps people who want to help themselves. I've never heard a negative word about JTPA. One thing might be an aptitude test. People get in over their heads--they are poor test takers, get anxious, absenteeism, tardiness, they aren't going to make it. See what kind of track record they have in their work--even in their JTPA appointments. I only missed one day of school in college, and that was because my car was dead. It was a one- class day, and I didn't think I could justify the cab fare for one class. If it weren't for JTPA, I wouldn't have my van. What JTPA pays me in mileage a month makes my van payments. I think it's a

shame that JTPA is not better advertised because I'm sure there are a lot of other people like me who are struggling and more would be interested if they knew there were these back ups. I mean I would have stuck it out without help from JTPA, but it's nice not to have to worry about a dime here and a dime there. I mean you can stop concentrating on the financial and start concentrating on academics.

I also get money from Aid to Dependent Children, I think they've changed the name, but I have to work 20 hours a week to get that money, so I work in a work- study program here at the college. I love working at the college.

My children have been very supportive of their mom returning to school. I have four children--three underachievers and one overachiever! Two are out on their own and two are at home. I even have a two-year-old grandchild who I baby-sit for in my spare time. His mom just got a job, so I'm trying to help her out.

I honestly believe religion and my church have played the largest role in where I am today. I didn't start out in church. I just thought I could do it myself, and my life was a shambles. I couldn't get any organization in it. I think you set higher standards yourself if you have a set of standards to start with. You're not just pleasing yourself anymore; you're pleasing someone else. If your life isn't disciplined, and it doesn't matter what religion, then you can't follow much of a life practice. That's self-discipline. I know that's not a popular opinion today, because today it's whatever feels good do it, you know, but I think that's what's wrong with our country at large. How do you expect people to act right if they've never been taught anything? There's too much leeway. I'm pretty liberal. Just because I go to church doesn't mean I condemn anyone that doesn't, and some people live perfectly moral lives without entering a church door, but I think it's good structure especially for children. See, I raised two in church and two out, and I can tell a difference. The two who were raised outside of church have more lax ideas of how they should conduct themselves, and it's hurt them. The younger two have been raised in church and they have been structured differently and look on the world with a different

outlook. It's not just "What's in it for me"; it's "What's in it for me without hurting someone else," or maybe not even" what's in it for me," but maybe it's "What can I do to help?" I think they missed that. Unless they have a really good upbringing and that's hard to do with the TV and the stuff that's on it, I think they miss a lot of that and they have so much more trouble because they don't have those boundaries. It's like the Bible says, I'm supposed to do the possible and God's supposed to do the impossible, so I take it as far as I can and then He takes over.

I'm very active in my church. I'm Children's Church Director, Social Chairman of the church, member of Women's Ministry Group, and a Sunday School teacher. We are a very small church, so I have several jobs. If I needed anything, they'd be right there, and they're very supportive. When I went back to school, Brother Jim called me up front and told everybody they had a late bloomer, and gave me a card and some money. They've been so supportive and nice if I had to miss something because of a test or something. Between school, work, family, and church, I am a pretty busy girl.

Jean, Three Months After Graduation:

Jean was working in a local factory, not utilizing her education or skills at all. She had wanted an office job at the factory, and someone in management at the factory told her that she would have to start out on the floor and then apply for an office job as it became available. They only promoted from within. She was disappointed that she was not working in her field, but Jean felt that she had gained so much from her education, regardless of the job situation. She reported that co-workers told her she talked "intelligent."

Jean, Six Months After Graduation:

Jean reported that she was working as the secretary/bookkeeper for a furniture store. She said that she enjoyed the work, even though she wished that it paid more, but she had confidence that she could "advance."

Interpretation

According to JTPA success criteria, these five students are the JTPA stars. From the beginning of the screening process to the exit interview three months after graduation, these students followed the rules and regulations and met the accountability standards. These students could be the public relations representatives for JTPA, if need be.

Upon looking for commonalities among these five stories, I discovered several shared characteristics. First, all but one had access to an on-campus JTPA caseworker. The on-campus status appears to be invaluable to students with a low or compromised self-esteem. These students did not have to wait until the caseworker paid the obligatory weekly or monthly visit, so when the need arose for words of encouragement, intervention with college officials, or "straight talk," the students had immediate access. Rhonda, Sandy, and Jean attended the same college; while they were first year JTPA students, the JTPA caseworker was on-campus. During the second year of school, the caseworker moved to an office about four miles away. This accounts for the discrepancy between the transcript account and the account in this commentary. What seems important is that the caseworker was on campus the first year when their deficiency needs were the greatest. Marsha reported that it was comforting to know help was only a phone call away, but that she never needed to call her caseworker.

Next, the formation of a positive self-perception while client-students contributed to their ability to obtain satisfactory jobs in their field. Janet made the most references to feeling proud of whom she had become. She was proud of her grades, her accomplishments at the college, success at her job, acquisition of new knowledge, and setting and attaining goals. She was especially touched that her father publicly conveyed his pride in her accomplishments. Although Jean did not make as many references, she identified all the same elements of positive self-perception as did Janet. The two women were older than the other three; because they had been out of school for a longer period,

perhaps they were less self-confident and were "needier" of self-esteem boosts. Marsha reported that pride in her grades and in her job of teaching computer classes for the college played the key role in her formation of identity. Sandy and Rhonda were most proud of their ability to set goals and accomplish them; these provided the base for the positive self-perception.

All five students were involved in the college. Astin's (1975) theory of student involvement focuses on student investment of physical and psychological energy to become involved in the academic and social culture of the college. If this occurs, there is a greater potential for student success. However, student involvement is not always easy if students have previously experienced nonconforming experiences, if students are academically and psychologically unprepared for school, or if students feel lost in a strange academic environment.

Because the caseworker lessened the feeling of being "lost," and, in fact, encouraged college involvement, these students were successful in becoming involved in the community college. For instance, Janet thrived with the college's validation. After being chosen to work in the President's office, she was asked to take a week's worth of training on PeopleSoft, a new student accounting software program. This was the same woman who had previously sat in the house day in and day out and was slowly "going nuts." She was elated that she had been chosen by her teachers to appear in the Who's Who in College Students Directory; for someone unsure of her identity, this was an accolade previously unimagined. For the first time in her life, she felt capable, knowledgeable, and proud. Marsha was an officer in Alpha Kappa Mu, the honors organization for community college students. In addition, because of her demonstrated expertise, she was asked to teach computer classes for the college. Jean was accepted into the culture of the college when she was hired as a secretary for her work-study assignment. She was complimented daily on her skills by college faculty and staff. Rhonda became involved when her business teachers helped her with starting her

business. She developed more of a peer relationship with her teachers during this time.

Beyond becoming involved in some manner, these students became empowered during the two years. Certainly the JTPA/community college partnership provided Rhonda with the self-assurance and technical knowledge to make her dream come true--owning her own business. The money from JTPA provided the financial means and the emotional support while the communitycollege provided the actual academic capital to be successful in owning and operating two "fun" (lingerie and sex toy) stores. In this academic environment, she learned to navigate the Small Business Administration and the process of applying for a loan, actions indicative of personal agency.

This information is especially noteworthy considering she had worked nine years at a Hanes factory "one of the best factories for a woman to work at in this area." Her mother, who had worked at Hanes all her life, obtained this job for her after Rhonda quit school as a sophomore in high school. With past conditioning of ideas concerning "woman appropriateness," in addition to the years of reporting directly to supervisors, the fact that Rhonda appropriated enough culture to own and operate two "fun" shops is significant.

Rhonda had planned to stay at Hanes forever, just like her mother. Tendonitis, however, forced her to make a career change, so she went back to school because the Bureau of Vocational Rehabilitation was paying for it. Rhonda credits the JTPA program, specifically her caseworker, with building her self-esteem sufficiently to give her the necessary courage to go back to school. No one tried to talk her out of her fun shop. Instead, JTPA and college teachers encouraged her to obtain the business management degree because she had indicated a proclivity for retail. She said that JTPA "got involved with people's lives" and didn't try to make participants feel beholden for the financial help. She also credits her teachers with giving her the knowledge to start a business and make a go of it. The JTPA/community college collaboration helped her become "boss," a powerful metaphor for someone who has never been "in charge."

Education meant independence to Rhonda; her goal is to own several businesses. "Someday I'll be owning and managing, and having other people work for me." In Rhonda's case, school was not "done" to her; she set a goal and accomplished it.

Sandy definitely came from a working class background, economically speaking; however, she exhibited deliberate personal agency on several occasions. For instance, she refused to take the math placement recommendation. She was correct in her assessment of the situation and spoke up. Sandy also realized that she was capable of working twenty hours a week even though that meant disregarding the caseworker's recommendation. She gave Sherry credit for good advice and support, yet she was still able to speak out against her authority. Last, Sandy believed in self-determination. She was determined to make something of her life, and she recognized the best way to that goal is through college and good grades. She was proud of her 4.0, although she acknowledged having to study very hard. She understood that many students are not offered opportunities for college or higher education simply because they have been denied access to the information. She felt all high school students should know their "options" before leaving high school.

Even though Sandy exhibited the self-confidence and agency to speak up for herself, she was clearly appreciative of the nurturing support of her caseworker. She appreciated not having to "go through twenty people" to talk to her caseworker, and she appreciated the "can-do" problem solving personality of her caseworker. Sandy never exhibited any doubt that she would complete the associate's degree. Instead, she concentrated on maintaining her 4.0; in fact, she already had plans to obtain her bachelor's degree after a few years of work experience.

Clearly, Marsha came from a middle class background. She knew how to navigate the culture: she called JTPA to find out about eligibility; she knew the importance of a high GPA for scholarship eligibility; she had the linguistic capital of the middle class; she felt secure enough to teach classes; she worked at home via the

computer; she knew the importance of putting the right information on a resume; and she planned to use contacts for job referrals. Her pictures indicated that she knew the commonly acceptable way to study—at a desk or computer station with good lighting with all the necessary study and supplemental study materials at arm's length. In contrast, most of the other participants studied on the couch, in a lounge chair, on the floor in front of the TV, or in Hank's case, not at all, because he was not willing to take time away from his family. She was one of JTPA's "stars"; however, she knew how to use the JTPA system to get what she wanted. As a result, her actions indicated her inheritance of a middle class social background. Marsha was much more self-confident than most of the other participants. Even though she was complimentary of all the help and attention she had been given, she reported that she did not really need the JTPA caseworker's help.

Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) proposed that social class influences the type of information available to students through their social interactions, activities, and networks because of cultural capital, the general cultural background, knowledge, disposition, and skills that are passed from one generation to the next. Children of upper-class origin, according to Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), inherit substantially different cultural capital than do working-class children. Since schools value the cultural capital of the dominant classes and devalue that of the lower classes, upper-and middle-class children are more successful in school. At community colleges, the middle-class students have access to information that produces a higher social profit than that available to working-class students because of the privileged status of middle-class culture. Middle class culture provides the students with experience and practice in the discourse and behaviors that eased their transition to higher education. Middle-class students draw upon those experiences and rely on their social networks to help them with education decisions.

It would seem as if Marsha represents Bourdieu's point. Her brother had a master's degree and held a position of authority in a manufacturing operation. She had undoubtedly grown up with the idea of college and had a family member who reaped the financial benefits of a college education.

In contrast, Jean had to "remake" herself in order to belong in the Office Systems program at the college. She had to learn how to dress, talk during an interview, shake hands, maintain her nails, eat in a fancy restaurant, and get in and out of a car. Going to college with the desire to attain a middle-class position as a secretary took Jean into unchartered cultural territory. Jean desired to overcome cultural obstacles and was willing to do whatever it took to "fit in" at the college with her work-study job, in her office systems classes, and her church work. Not only did she desire these new relations for herself, but she also wanted them for the two children left at home. She demonstrated agency by taking that "leap of faith" into the unchartered cultural territory.

These students were the most compromised of all the client-students. Their collective jobs of administrative assistant, secretary, and nurse are not going to provide the financial return they need to climb a rung up the social class ladder. The "system" needs capable, intelligent, workers who not only do their jobs well, but also are vocally happy with these working-class jobs that offer limited financial value to their lives. In addition to the tangible and intangible rewards the other client-students received, these students were complimented, admired, and some were even granted entry into the "inner circle" of community college faculty and administration. By far, this group of client-students felt more empowered than the other groups—Rhonda navigated the Small Business Administration and became an entrepreneur, Marsha taught computer classes for the community college, Janet worked in the president's office, Sandy maintained her 4.0 GPA while working full-time, Jean changed her persona. This was the group most capable of social critique, but the least likely to engage in it because they were "beholden" to JTPA and community college or truly believed in their social class

advancement.

Rhonda does not fit this interpretation. As an entrepreneur, she exercises more agency than any of the other client-students. Every decision she makes about her business is an act of agency. The fact that she had opened an additional store by the end of the six-month follow-up period is indicative that she is not a passive or compliant individual. She openly stated that she wanted to "be her own boss." Clearly, she transcended the JTPA/community college model. Because she made her own luck and her own rules for "social class," Rhonda clearly was not compromised. By owning and opening two sex and lingerie "fun" shops, Rhonda rejected the stereotypical middle-class culture. As she said, "it pays the bills" and she's her "own boss."

Chapter Six

Participants Who Transferred to a Four-Year College:

Lori, Terry, Erica, and Linda

Lori's Story as a Third-Semester Community College Student:

Three years ago, I was pretty down and out. I was not working, living with my mom, just going here and there and didn't have any goal, and I went to sign up for food stamps, and they told me I had to get my GED which I had tried before a couple of times, but I just quit because I didn't have anyone over me. It made me really mad. They gave me the JTPA caseworker's number. The first summer I talked to her I had a major attitude and let her know the only reason I was calling her was because I was getting my food stamps. And the day I went to take my test, I knew I had passed the moment I left, and I couldn't stop grinning. It felt pretty good. Then I thought, "Well, that's the end of that." And then I met Sara. She said, "You are going to take your GED in two weeks." I did and passed it. Then she said, "You're going to go to college." And I said, "I am not." And here I am. I am 41 years old with a two-year old granddaughter; I thought it was about time I did something with my life.

I dropped out of high school when I was 16, got married at 17, and had my first baby at 18, my second at 20, and my third at 21. It was okay for awhile, and then he started mentally abusing me--making me believe that I couldn't do anything without him, that I wasn't good enough or anything for anyone else to like me or want me. Finally, I couldn't take it anymore; he wouldn't leave me alone. He had my family against me. He's one of these people who pretend to be something he wasn't, so I took off for North

Carolina with no education and three kids and thought I could make it. I couldn't; I was wrong.

Then my youngest died, Cindy, when she was only 10. When she was in the hospital, I asked God to save her, and I really thought He would, but three days later she died, and I didn't understand that; I thought I was being punished. I brought Cindy back to bury her, and I went back to North Carolina with the other two and couldn't support them, so they went back to their father. I always had custody, but I let them go back because he had money and a good job. He married a woman that hated kids, never has had any and never will, and that wasn't good, but I wasn't fit to be around them. They went through a hard time, and I still feel guilty about that, but I felt they were better off with anybody but me. Of course, I don't think she was that great either, but as far as a home, a place to sleep, and food; they had that. I got into drugs and just stayed in it. I had a breakdown after Cindy died, I guess you can call it that. I was in pretty bad shape. I mean I didn't care where I slept, how long I was gone. I worked every now and then, had a three-year relationship that didn't work out. I was emotionally unstable; I had to have someone there all the time.

Five years ago I hit rock bottom. I was convicted of selling drugs. I spent some jail time and entered rehab. I've been clean for three and a half years. And now I have one more semester until I graduate with my Associate of Arts. If it hadn't been for JTPA, I'd probably be selling drugs again. That's the only opportunity I would have had to make this kind of money, you know. Naturally, you can't make that kind of money every day, or I couldn't, so why not? That's how we think. Why not? I couldn't get a good job with no education, no nothing. Even with a GED, there's not any good jobs around here.

I'm stuck. Anybody with a GED there's just not any good jobs other than flipping burgers. I've done that.

I plan to transfer to Eastern next spring. I'm a little apprehensive about transferring, and I really have mixed emotions. I hate to leave Mom and Dad; Dad has prostate cancer, you know. He'll probably never see me graduate. That's another reason I could kick myself in the butt for not getting started sooner. I know Eastern's not that far, but to them it's a major move, and it's kind of scary to think of even going. I never even thought of myself as college material. And here I am getting ready to go to Eastern—one of the best in the nation for photojournalism. I don't know how Work Study works there. I don't know how long I can be without a job. I'm really iffy about it. I want to do it, but I'm scared to do it. It's really the job I'm worried about. The classes don't worry me a bit, but I guess it's because everything has been so steady here for the past couple of years; when it's not steady it reminds me of the old days, and I don't like that. And I'm so scared I'll get cut from the program because we know it's government funding and it's year to year.

I'd like to major in journalism and minor in conservation; I love science. I may lean toward conservation biology. I know I am leaning toward investigative reporting. I'm working on something right now as a matter of fact. The EPA is interested in some water testing that I did. I did a research paper on physhteria, about the fish kills. So I contacted the woman who discovered it--Joanne Berkoff over at North Carolina State--and she sent me an autographed journal and said that you wouldn't probably have physhteria in Kentucky, but we would have the threat of blue algae which is almost as bad. I was so excited. I mean she's famous. She contracted the disease along with 13

other people when they discovered it and has been fighting legislators, and they told her to come back in 10 years when she had more research. There's no cure--it has the symptoms of Aids with lesions all the way down to the common cold. It's really spooky; it's airborne. These things have a complicated life style. They go through about 15 different stages--these little one-celled organisms. Pollution has made them toxic. I've had people in class wanting me to come and test their water. I may be doing an article, or I may be in an article, but no matter what, they will watch the water in this area.

The quality of my life has improved 150% since I got my scholarship. You know I never used to have my picture taken. It was because I hated myself, and now I don't hate myself, so now I don't mind having my picture taken. The way I live, everything has bettered; even my girls are trying to forgive me. We're not best buddies, but I feel kind of like their aunt. They used to hurt me with special functions, but we're in contact now, and I know we love each other. And my granddaughter just loves me. She wants to stay with me, and she calls me Memaw. I want the family back.

Of course, now I have ten times as much stress, trying to keep up my grades, work, make a difference here at the college. Sometimes I don't feel that I've gone anywhere, but I know I have. I could give you a hundred reasons why I should quit, but the bottom line is I know this is my last chance. Some people live in a dream world where they wonder if Mr. Right will come along and take care of me; I'm not counting on that. And I certainly don't want to go back. Sometime I'm going to walk into that food stamp office and say, "You won't see me anymore." I'm grateful to JTPA but I don't want to be on assistance after this. My goal someday is to be a writer with my own office in my own home. I want to have enough money so that if I needed a pair of shoes, I could

go buy a pair of shoes, or if I wanted to send my mom flowers, I could send her flowers and not count my pennies or make sure I have all my bills paid first. I want to be able to help my kids the way my parents have helped me. Right now if my kids called and said, "Mama, I really need this, really really bad," I couldn't do it. And my ex puts conditions on his money, and I wouldn't have any. If you need it, you don't owe me. Hopefully when I'm old and gray, you'll come visit me in the rest home. No conditions. I'd like maybe a little cabin in the woods, and write a book here and there--live a simple life.

Lori, Three Months After Graduation:

Lori moved to another city about 75 miles away to attend a four-year college so she could major in photojournalism. She moved into a small apartment and supported herself by working at Subway, a fast-food eatery.

Lori, Six Months After Graduation:

In November, Lori received word that her father was dying of prostate cancer. Self-described as "lonely and stressed out," Lori quit college, moved back close to home and is working third shift, full-time at a newspaper. She reported that she was making "decent" money and enjoyed the job but not the hours. She felt she owed it to her father to be available to him. She plans to return to college "eventually" and pick up where she left off.

Terry's Story as a Third-Semester Community College Student:

It's been two years since my husband's accident. He'll never work again, and just now his feelings of despair are subsiding. He's been the mother in the family now. The kids call him now when they used to call me, so I'm a little jealous. I've had a lot of support, though. My parents couldn't be better. My father's a retired chiropractor, my

mother's a retired teacher, my brother has a business degree, and the other brother, I forget what his degree is, but he's a plant controller at a manufacturing plant. He just got engaged to an attorney.

I was the only one in my immediate family without a college degree, so . . .I grew up in a family believing there was no choice--college came after high school. This is all I've known. This is my culture. There are no college grads in my husband's family, they say that opposites attract. I believe if I had started at a community college I would have already had my degree. I went on to the four-year school because that was the thing to do. If my children say they want to go to community college, that's fine, as long as you're going.

This semester has really been hard because Luke has been in the hospital, and Maggie is the one with the history of epilepsy. On top of working 20 hours a week and taking classes, I am a Girl Scout co-leader and active church member. I had to drop one class because I wasn't doing well at all, and it required 15 hours of field experience; I just didn't have time to do it all. My kids come first. No matter what.

I enjoy the work study I do at the college in the word processing office. I love to talk, so it's fun to see all the different teachers and secretaries come in. I live in Marion, though, so I have a two-hour drive every day on top of school, work, and family. I wish we had a JTPA coordinator on campus; that would help me a lot. Now they come to our school only once a month, and sometimes we have to go to the other community college for our mandatory meetings. That's an additional 35 minutes on top of my drive to Marion. I really like Betsy, though; she tells us to call her any time we have a personal problem that is going to interfere with our school.

My husband and I have been working on a house we bought two years ago. Slowly, we are doing things to it. The kitchen has just been remodeled. I've been papering and painting in my spare time. Hopefully, the outside will be painted in a month or so. My parents moved into my grandmother's house after she died. I'm over there a lot. If I'm not over there, I call her everyday. People say I'm a lot like my grandmother. Her first husband died when a limb caught his neck while he was riding a horse. She had three little kids to raise, so she went to college and got a degree to teach kindergarten. Her second husband died of natural causes, and then she got remarried again and was married to him for twenty-five years, and then he died, and then she died when she was 98. Up until about a year before she died, she went everywhere, I mean everywhere. Her theory was that everyone deserved respect, so she went to the funeral home every time there was a body just to pay her respects. I really admired her.

When I graduate, I want to own a Victims' Advocacy center and have social workers under me. I cannot have social workers under me without a Master's. I can't do any counseling or anything in the state of Kentucky without the Master's.

Terry, Three Months After Graduation:

Terry was enrolled in a four-year college working on a degree in Social Work. She commuted three times a week, resulting in a one and one-half hour drive each way. JTPA continued to pay for her because she had not found out about JTPA in time to take advantage of the two years at community college, so the caseworker allowed Terry to take one year at the four-year school. Terry started off by taking fifteen hours, but dropped one of those classes; this action resulted in the minimum number of hours per semester allowed by JTPA.

Terry, Six Months After Graduation

In December, Terry fell off a street curb and broke a bone in her foot. She was on crutches and in a wheel chair, but she finished her classes before the accident. Even on crutches, she still reported being involved with the Girl Scouts. Her husband's condition had worsened, and he had spent a few days in the hospital during December. At this point, Terry decided to "lay out" a semester. Terry reported that her grades were "not good" this semester, but she "vows" to return to college next fall (2000).

Erica's Story as a Third-Semester Community College Student:

I want to take advantage of as much of the scholarship as I can before we have to move again. I feel very blessed to have qualified for the program. I hope they continue the program. To eliminate the program would be just like taking the food out of somebody's table because the program prepares people for the future and the fact that they do not have to compensate the government is I think a good incentive for people to keep receiving that financial help. I saw President Clinton recently stated that he wants to help the school system and prepare the people for the future. I think if they can help kids who need it, why not help adults who also need it? I have experienced people who want to go to school, but maybe they have family to support or priorities in their life. Education seems so important but if they have no money and if they have the desire in their heart but they don't have a way to pay for it, then the dream it dissipates.

If people want school, they will find a way, but it will take them more time, and time is precious. If they have the resources and they can get those resources through the support of JTPA, I think it would be an asset to the community in the long run. It's just

like the program coordinator of JTPA said, "What I get today, I will give back to the community in the future," and I think it is just like I said before. It's like planting a seed. Let JTPA water themselves with money, they will grow, they will become a good plant for the community and the future. If you're a normal person and you are grateful, you will eventually earn money and buy things in the community. You are now giving back to the community. In the whole economy, you will put back into the system.

I have liked very much being a student here. I find it very helpful for the support I get from the JTPA coordinators. Janna Smith, the JTPA coordinator here, has been an inspiration to me. She graduated with JTPA funds. More people should take advantage of this program, but people want material things, so they prefer to earn as much as possible, to work as much as possible, and then education is not as important because education is not a short-term investment. Education is a long-term investment. Whatever is a priority is what rules. The financial aspect is also very important. Education is very expensive. School expense has increased 73% from not so many years ago. And that includes books--I have just one example. My Business Law book was $100 for just one book, so school is very expensive. People who stay in school now are there because of financial funding or their parents have saved it for their education or the person is just working very hard to go to school. But they have to sacrifice. But for me, what JTPA does not provide, the college provides. For example, in math, I am not totally gifted; there were many times I needed a tutor, and the college provided this for me. So I think that everything a student needs improving their grades, everything form having better relations with their classmates, everything is here. All bases are covered.

I have made some friends. This is important to me because my family is small and they are in Panama. I think I have been able to catch up so soon because of the fact I can put everything together because I don't have other responsibilities, but I do teach occasionally here. I was a tutor here last semester in the Learning Skills Center, and I also taught a class to Health Care providers with medical terminology in Spanish, and occasionally I tutor people one-on-one in Spanish. This school implemented this course for health care providers because many people with Hispanic backgrounds are here, and they go to the hospital and nobody can communicate with them, so they are making the way for them to communicate. I also meet with Latino Center in Shady Cliff where immigrants are lodged in that center because they can't pay for an apartment. I go to visit and talk with them. I was offered a membership in Phi Theta Kappa, but I did not enter it because it was $60 for a lifetime membership, and I didn't have the funds at the moment. I know this is important because in scholarship applications it asks you about memberships. I have participated in the past.

I feel I am successful because I just think that came from my mom to teach me to be grateful to others. You don't have to, but it is better to give back to the other person. And then God blesses my efforts. Research shows that anyone that practices some kind of religion live longer probably because they do not have as much stress as others. Probably because we are relying more than on our own efforts, so I think that is important. I think God wants to bless all of us, but we have to be willing to accept His blessings. For example, I've been given a scholarship. Three months later, I turn down the scholarship. This is telling God, "Here's what I think of your blessing--take it back." My mother told me once that a friend of hers told her any blessing you are given, you

should accept, and not say I don't want it. Money out of the blue, just say, "Thank you." If someone says, "You look very nice today," you should say, "Thank you." You shouldn't come with excuses and say, "Oh, no, I don't." The most powerful words on this planet is "I love you," and "Thank you."

I'm in college for three reasons: to get a higher paying job, I want to be successful and recognized in my community because that is valued, and it's an investment in the future for me and my family. I will definitely get a four-year degree. This is my starting point. I would love to be a college professor in Spanish. I wish JTPA could be expanded so that people could continue their education. Those who have more education have better success when getting a job with a big corporation. I know that it's meant to give the personal tool to continue on their own and second, they target people who want to go into a technical field and they feel two years is sufficient for people to get that learning to get a job. I know somebody, however, who's heart is into biology, but with JTPA she has to take accounting because that's the only way she can be compensated.

People ask me if I get tired of moving around, but I enjoy it. It's amazing how much I heard from A or average students; they have so little knowledge about the world out there. When you travel, you expand your knowledge amazingly. That is something you can't buy with money if you are open-minded. I mean there are many people who travel around the world, but they have their mind set that there is nothing better than America. It is true that America is such a blessed country with programs such as JTPA. But if you are open-minded and really try to get to know the other people and get to know the language, it's going to help you better understand the people. Knowing a second language is like having a key to heaven. We Americans expect everyone else to know our

language. It's too bad because it's changing. We are going to be demanded to know another language not because we want to but because we depend on everybody. Worldwide unity.

Language is amazing. I work at a bank, and I amaze myself. I can be talking to a customer in English and then hang up and the next customer is Spanish, and I can flip back and forth. When I am in the English language, though, I feel confined because I'm not able to express what I really truly feel at the moment, especially when I can't find the good intellectual word. But in Spanish I feel like a bird that somebody opens the gate to the cage, and I fly away. I can do that in Spanish.

My husband was very supportive of me. He wanted me to go to school five years ago, but I kept postponing it because I couldn't afford to pay for school and to work only part-time. He was very happy. I have a friend who is a pediatrician, and she is my inspiration. When I was debating about school, she kept telling me that school would benefit me. She said, "Close your eyes, and when you open them again, you will be finished." Everyone needs to hear encouragement. Your ears must be open to blessings and words of encouragement.

Erica, Three Months After Graduation:

Erica was working at a bank; she was the bilingual teller. In addition to the job, she taught another class for Health Care Providers in the area to teach them basic conversational Spanish. She reported that she planned to attend the four-year college in the area in the spring.

Erica, Six Months After Graduation:

Erica was enrolled in a Business Management Bachelor's program and was still

working at the bank part-time. She believed that her husband would be transferred before she finished the degree, but she planned to stay in the area with friends and finish the degree.

Linda's Story as a Third-Semester Community College

I got in JTPA because I have two small children, and I knew I had to have more than high school for the future. A friend who is not in the JTPA program herself told me to contact Social Services because they had programs that would pay for my college, transportation, and daycare. I thought that would be perfect. I needed all that so I called Social Services, and they told me to contact a woman, and she brought me in and just asked me questions. I took a test and it was all taken care of. I'll graduate with an Associate's degree in Office Systems in May, and then I'll go on to Sandicut in the fall for my four-year degree in computer science. My dad says that is a good field to go into, and it pays well. He has a Bachelor's in Computer Science and writes software programs for hospitals in Florida.

I think JTPA is a good program--there's a lot of adults who don't have the experience they need. From my point of view, I mean I can't pay for college. My father won't help me; he figures it's up to me at my age to be independent. My mother can't afford to. My only complaint about JTPA is with the check. They say the checks will be here on the 15th, and they don't come in. They might be a month late. That's hard for me because I have sitters. It's like they expect their money on a certain day, and sometimes they'll be one, two, or three months late. Then sometimes it will show up right on time, so it's like nobody ever knows. Another problem is JTPA will only pay $17 a day for

childcare for two kids. Well, I had one in daycare and one in a home, so what am I supposed to do here? They told me they paid $11 a day for daycare and $10 for the one in a home. Then my check got cut $40, and I said, "What happened?" They said, "We only pay $17 a day for childcare," and I said, "That's not what I was told," so I didn't think that was fair that childcare would get $11 and in-home would get only $6. So I got all that straightened out. Childcare gets $9 a day and in-home gets $8, so I thought that was a little fairer, but State pays more for childcare. I think it's about the same for childcare. The state pays you at the beginning of the month. The state is a little more lenient. They don't have the stipulations that JTPA has. I think a lot of people take advantage of State. They drop off their kid, and the parent goes around doing anything while the state pays for the childcare. The State pays for people to leave their kid in daycare all day.

I really like my academic advisor. She teaches some of my classes. College is really a lot easier than I thought it would be. When I first started, college scared me. I thought there would be more than high school, but it really hasn't been. I mean, yes, I do study more, but I think it is good that they have the attendance policy because I know a lot of people who don't come. It's more laid back. It's not what I thought it would be. I've been able to maintain a 4.0 GPA.

I don't do anything but go to school and go home. I don't like to leave my boys for long, so I come to school, pick them up, and go home. I haven't really developed friendships because I'm not on campus enough. I think that could be supportive. Now my father? He's beyond support; he's the major stress factor. He says, "You need this." He's hard on me. He says you can't get a good job without school, but experience counts

too. He works in Florida and he travels a lot. His job is lots of travel--that's what he does and what he likes to do. He says you can't get out in the world and experience, blah, blah, blah. My mother never pushed. He liked to have died when I had two kids so close together. That was his worst nightmare. When I got pregnant the first time, he couldn't believe it, and I said, "I'm 27 years old; just when did you expect me to have children?" And then when I told him about the second one, oh, boy! That was a nightmare. I dread having to ask him to pay for next semester when I go to Sandcut. I guess I'll go through graduation; my advisor wants me to. My father won't come, though; he's in Florida. He's a very hard person. He told me I had made my bed, now I could lie in it. He has his opinions. He is the type of person who does not think he's wrong. It's amazing he ever remarried. He married a German woman. When I was about 18, I went over and stayed with them. Of course, I lived there when he was married to my mom. I've traveled all over. I've seen a lot, been to the Octoberfest, the shopping, the sights. I don't particularly like France. The people are extremely rude, especially to Americans. I would like to be able to give that to my children. I think that's wonderful to be able to go overseas. I have a scrapbook on every country. I have a friend who was born here and plans to stay here. Her husband had the opportunity to move to Louisville and make a whole lot more money, but she didn't want to leave her family. It's a culture thing. Even I have been drawn into it a little bit.

My mother and my brother are here; they're supportive of me. I think God has played a part in where I am today, too. I mean I don't go to church, but I think God gave me that first initial push, but I did it. He probably put it in my head--"You're this old; it's time to do something."

Linda, Three Months After Graduation

Linda reported that she was enrolled in the bachelor's program at a four-year college. She is receiving a Pell grant, and one child is in public pre-school, so the childcare expense is not as great as it was. She plans to get a part-time job.

Linda, Six Months After Graduation

Linda reported that she liked her classes, is doing well, and that she is still seeking a part-time job.

Interpretation

By JTPA standards, Lori was successful because she had a job. She opted to go the less traditional route of obtaining an Associate's of Art degree, realizing that this was the only way her dream of a degree in photojournalism could possibly be realized. Even though Lori dropped out of the four-year college and does not superficially look as successful as Erica or Linda who have persisted in a four-year college, unlike them, Lori did not have the advantage of a middle-class background. Even though she admitted that she was scared to make that transfer, she probably had no real conception of how difficult that transition would be without benefit of family financial support, a realistic set of expectations, and emotional support from someone who could identify with her emotional needs during this time.

While a client-student, Lori reshaped her self-perception. Prior to her JTPA/community college collaboration, Lori said she was drifting from place to place with no purpose or goal other than to find the next fix. She blamed herself that God did not save her daughter, blamed herself that she had no money to support the other two daughters, and they had to live with their father and a step-mother who hated kids. She

was angry that she had to obtain food stamps, angry that there were strings attached to the food stamps, angry that she was not in control of herself and her environment. She did indicate that her parents never gave up on her, but apparently the contact was minimal.

Because strings were attached to the food stamps, Lori had to enroll in Adult Education and study for her GED. Because she passed the first time she took the test and did so well on it, Sara (her GED teacher) told her she was going to go to college. At first she resisted, but then became intrigued with the idea. She said she had "never thought of herself as college material." "Material" as metaphor is important in understanding the cultural capital appropriation involved in reshaping Lori's self-perception. This metaphor emphasizes Bourdieu and Passeron's (1977) "ideology of the gift"--the assumption that children of professionals manifest effortless natural talent. Her "material" of origin was not college material--her habitus was lined with muslin, not with silk. Once in college, however, she exchanged that muslin for a higher-status material and made her way into the college/JTPA cultural world as a knowledgeable and committed participant.

Certainly Lori's calling the professor at North Carolina State concerning the physhteria was the act of an empowered person. Before becoming a client-student, Lori had always allowed, or perhaps even desired, someone or something to control her. Some might say that Lori was still allowing others to control her--JTPA in attaching strings to their money, the college in dictating grade requirements. Lori saw these as opportunities--positive controls to produce positive results.

As a client-student, however, Lori graduated with an Associate of Arts degree; this was a contradiction of the JTPA norm of providing two years of training toward a technical degree. Each SDA operates under its own guidelines; however, apparently

Lori's caseworker felt she was "college material," could make a successful transfer, and could find the financial means to finish the last two years of the degree she wanted.

Terry's personal situation was different. Terry would have been perfectly content as a stay-at-home mom. She loves caring for her children and being involved in their school and church activities. She enjoys remodeling her home, spending time talking with friends and family, and participating in social events at her church. When her husband had his accident, however, her life was changed forever. With the prospect of nothing but a monthly disability check to support this family of five, Terry had no choice but to return to school. She had to become the major means of financial support for the family. She did not care for this new role thrust upon her. She was "jealous" that her husband now received the bulk of the children's attention. Even though all four members of her immediate family--mother, father, and two brothers--all had college degrees and had done well in school, Terry did not like school nor had she done particularly well. Terry faced major life changes.

While completing her first year of college, Terry learned about JTPA from another student. This particular college did not have a JTPA caseworker on campus, so Terry had to contact the nearest JTPA office that happened to be thirty-five minutes away. She pursued JTPA and was accepted into the program, even though she was working on an Associate of Arts degree and had already completed her first year. Typically, JTPA would not pay for a situation such as this, but the SDA makes that final decision. She began her second year at the community college under the auspices of JTPA. Terry sought additional assistance through Work Study. She worked twenty hours per week in the Word Processing department. She reported "okay grades, not

wonderful." While at the community college, she had the support of the Word Processing office personnel, small classes with more attention from teachers, and an advisor who met with her to discuss future plans. Once she transferred to the four-year college, her JTPA caseworker was now two hours away, her community college ties had been severed, and her classes had become more demanding. Terry persisted, however, and completed that first semester. Will Terry ever complete the four-year degree? It is hard to predict because of her husband's debilitating health issues that structure her life. On the other hand, attaining the associate degree represented a highly valued achievement for Terry who had always felt inferior to other family members who had higher education degrees; perhaps that initial goal attainment will be enough to propel her toward the completion of a bachelor's degree.

Who do Lori and Terry blame for dropping out? In accordance with the idea of social reproduction and compromise, Lori blames no one but herself. After all, JTPA had provided two years of education, she thought it only fair that she should be able to handle the last two on her own. She benefited from tangible rewards such as books, tuition, and transportation, as well as intangible rewards such as the self- confidence to believe she could be Somebody such as a photojournalist. She felt empowered enough to investigate the physhteria problem and contact a researcher in that field. The community college provided status; she could escape her public-projects apartment and rub elbows with educated people. The community college provided a job that entailed working in the president's office as an assistant to the assistant. She was privy to inside information about the college; this heightened a sense of pride and self-worth. Her friends and family were proud of her, she had made "decent" grades after failing grades in high school

before she dropped out, she had set a goal of earning the associate degree and achieved that goal, after living the past few years running away from any commitments.

Without being overly repetitive, Terry's situation was similar except that she blamed a series of 'bad luck" instances to her dropping out of college. She, too, was the recipient of tangible and intangible rewards; she, too, felt that she had become Somebody when she earned that associate's degree. At this point in her life, Terry was totally incapable of critiquing a social structure that served to "keep her in her place."

By conventional societal standards that value and support higher education and the accompanying credentials, Erica and Linda would be considered the most successful of the client-students. After all, they made a successful transition to a four-year college, or at least up to this time. Depending on the measuring bar used, however, Erica and Linda both started as client-students with a distinct advantage over thirteen of the others—a middle-class background.

Howard London (1978) believed that a failed education is social more than intellectual in origin. He argued that cultural conflict between students and the faculty and administration contributed to the problems of high student attrition and low academic achievement among working-class students. More recently (1982), he detailed the cultural conflict between the students' own social and cultural background and the middle-class culture of the community college faculty. London suggested that students experienced a "breaking away" in which they must make choices between conflicting cultures when they enter the often mysterious and foreign world of higher education. Erica's and Linda's social and cultural background complemented that perpetuated by the community college faculty and administration; therefore, both students were

academically and socially successful and fully integrated within the culture of the college.

Erica's background is clearly middle class. Before she moved to Kentucky, she had worked for JTPA in Florida. When her supervisor learned that she was moving with her husband as a result of a Coast Guard transfer, he suggested that she apply to JTPA because he felt she would qualify because she had an obstacle to employment—her English was not perfect. Even though Spanish is her native language, her language capital is extensive. Her speech is filled with metaphors, she offers examples to her explanations, and she is expansive in her explanations. Erica not only kept up with current events, expressed opinions concerning President Clinton, higher education costs, Panamanian politics, and the United States/Panama relationship. Erica understands the value of education and its contribution to economic and cultural capital; she is obviously informed about her surroundings. She knew how much tuition had increased in the past ten years, she understood the importance of traveling to broaden an education, she understood the value of giving something back to the community, and she understood the value of listing professional affiliations on a resume.

Not only did Linda come from a middle-class background, but she also had a sophisticated understanding of the cultural differences. For instance, when she was talking about the value of traveling, she recognized the lack of desire for going anywhere else as "a culture thing." Her father understands the value of education and understands that the only way to raise economic standing is through the exchange of academic or cultural capital. It seems clear that he could easily afford to pay for his daughter's

education, but he forces her to check out governmental agencies that will pay for her. After all, "she made her bed; now she can lie in it."

Linda has a goal--to graduate with a four-year degree in computer science. She understands that a two-year degree is insufficient to make much of a difference economically. She knows how the State childcare system works as contrasted with JTPA. She understands which is the better deal and has definite opinions on JTPA's shortcomings, and she is not afraid to question authority figures. At the same time, she expresses gratitude for the help. More than evidence of agency, Linda is navigating her life in accordance with her middle class background.

Max Weber (1968) noted that money by itself is rarely an effective claim to social position. "Above all else," he wrote, "a specific style of life is expected from all those who wish to belong to the circle" (p. 932). Language, social conventions and rituals, patterns of economic consumption, understandings regarding outsiders, relations with outsiders, and matters of taste in clothing, food, grooming, music, sports, cars and recreation are all indicative of status. Linda and Erica's middle-class backgrounds have provided the "right" status indicators. Both Linda and Erica will use JTPA, obtain their four-year degrees, and will take their places at the middle-class table.

Valerie Lee and Ken Frank (1990) showed that it was the most academically prepared and the least economically stressed students who used the community college to their best advantage. Students who are better prepared are often the ones who graduate from two-year programs or transfer to four-year colleges. Certainly, Erica and Linda are prime examples. In discussing Linda and Erica, Bourdieu's (1977) idea of cultural capital must be acknowledged. Cultural capital refers to the different sets of linguistic

and cultural competencies that individuals inherit from the social location of their families. Children incorporate a set of meanings, qualities of style, modes of thinking, and behaviors that are assigned a certain social value and status. This cultural capital is honored by those dominant groups in society that define and legitimate the meaning of success in education (Giroux 1983). In contrast, students who exhibit characteristics outside the mainstream of society, such as speech patterns or unusual dress or who reject knowledge that is based on a commonly held historical perspective, are at a cultural disadvantage in school. As indicated by the narratives, both Linda and Erica had the cultural capital necessary to navigate successfully the middle class values of the community college.

One example of community college middle class values is what Valadez (1996) calls school knowledge. He reports that middle class students have learned how to take notes, how to participate in a discussion, how to manage their time and assignments, and how to prioritize those responsibilities. It was evident that both women had school knowledge. Neither Erica or Linda needed the JTPA caseworker for help navigating the academic world, nor did they need the caseworker for emotional support. Erica reported just "enjoying" the friendship while Linda said it was helpful to have the caseworker to deliver checks and take care of the paperwork. Other participants, however, reported relying heavily on the academic and emotional support of their caseworker.

Valadez (1996) also cites academic and career advisement as a factor in demonstrating cultural capital. Many working class students do not understand the importance or ramifications of the placement test. Many working class students take it, believing it to just be "one of those things" required for college entrance. Unfortunately,

many colleges have instituted mandatory placement, thereby giving students no option other than to take the class that the diagnostic test indicates based upon performance on the placement test. According to Valadez (1996), working class students often do not realize that the tests may be challenged, that developmental credit does not count toward graduation, or that placement in developmental classes seriously inhibits the chances of graduation. Middle class students typically know the questions to ask or will challenge the advice.

Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) proposed that social class influences the type of information available to students through their social interactions, activities, and networks. Middle class students have access to information that produces a higher social profit than that available to working-class students because of the privileged status of middle-class culture. Middle-class culture provides students with experience and practice in the discourse and behaviors that eases transition into higher education. For example, Erica was asked to teach Conversational Spanish to health care workers. She has been granted status by the college because she was asked to participate as "one of their own." As a result, this action made Erica even more privileged within the culture of the community college.

Both Erica and Linda were socially compromised. In exchange for two year's worth of education, Erica and Linda had positive JTPA and community college experiences and vocally expressed their appreciation, thereby guaranteeing positive accountability for JTPA. They used the system as it was intended: to gain two years of schooling. Both understood the importance of a bachelor's credential to upward mobility and never had any intention of taking a place in the JTPA work world. They were

appreciative of the help that JTPA and the community college offered and expressed this eloquently.

After analyzing and interpreting the data for all sixteen client-students, the term "compromise" does not seem to describe the relationship between the client-student and JTPA/community college. "Compromise" implies equality, with both sides reaching a mutual agreement. This term is inadequate for discussion of client-students. A closer approximation for explaining this phenomenon may be the term "appeasement." Appeasement implies unequal distribution of power, concessions, and a kind of "forced" satisfaction. In the next chapter, I will attempt to demonstrate that appeasement is a more apt term for describing the experiences of client-students.

Chapter Seven

Summary, Methodological Reflection, Conclusions,

Recommendations, and Implications for Research Opportunities

Summary

In this study, sixteen client-students, JTPA (Job Training Partnership Act) clients and simultaneously community-college students, talked about their experiences as client-students over a course of fourteen months. At the initial point of contact, all sixteen were third-semester community college students in Kentucky and ranged in age from twenty-four to forty-five. The intent of this research was to document the experiences and perceptions of client-students. The data collection was conducted in four phases: 1) in their third-semester; 2) in their fourth-semester; 3) three months after designated graduation month; 4) six months after designated graduation month. The research explored whether community college status, coupled with JTPA status, resulted in a positive, negative, or inconsequential relationship for the students.

Midway through this project, I had compiled detailed narratives of sixteen client-students. Because I had worked extremely hard to provide a thick description of these client students' experiences, I felt confident that I had captured the essence of their lives through narrative and took great pleasure in having become acquainted with these JTPA participants who were students on a community college campus. Since I immersed myself in their world, I felt confident that I had revealed their experiences on the community college campus in an accurate fashion, concluding that the collaboration between the college and JTPA was complementary because all sixteen felt they had positively altered their self-concept. Indeed, I believed this to be a story of cultural

production made possible by the JTPA/community college partnership. I had concluded that the transformation resulted primarily from the efforts of the JTPA caseworker and the legitimacy of place that the community college provided these students.

In time, however, I came to realize that I had allowed the analysis to become subordinate to the data and had not shown that the data helped to address the important issue of why they were all so complimentary and appreciative of the JTPA program and the community college and believed their lives had been transformed when the evidence indicated that their lives had not been transformed at all, except in discrete ways. How can this phenomenon be explained? After discarding several other terms, the term "appease," although inexact, seemed to explain the data more appropriately than other words.

According to Webster's Seventh New Collegiate dictionary, "appease" is defined as "to calm or pacify, especially by making concessions; close to satisfy."

For the purpose of this study, I define Social Appeasement as a kind of tacit adjustment to and acceptance of the social hierarchy that inhibits critique, in exchange for various forms of tangible and intangible rewards. Whereas Webster's definition included the phrase "especially by making concessions," JTPA and the community college partnership involved more of an exchange of something for pacification purposes, with the emphasis being on "exchange" rather than "concessions." Because some concessions were made, however, the partnership was not a case of simple pacification.

I view this situation in some ways similar as childcare providers in a daycare center. For instance, the childcare providers are adults hired and working under the auspices of a particular structure. In this situation, several babies are dependent upon the

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childcare provider to satisfy needs. When the babies cry, most of the time they can be calmed with a pacifier. Many times, however, caregivers anticipate potential outcomes and appease the baby with a pacifier before the baby starts to cry and exerts his/her power. At other times, the pacifier does not stop the baby from crying or being dissatisfied, and concessions must be made. Perhaps the childcare provider rocks the baby, massages its back, or sings. These are concessions because they require more time and attention from the caregiver than simply providing a pacifier.

This relationship is also one of unequal distribution of power. The baby has the power to make the adult's life uncomfortable, but the baby is unaware of this. The adult could choose to let the baby cry, and there would be nothing the baby could do; however, the crying baby makes the adult's life uncomfortable and becomes an indictment of the adult's ability to provide quality childcare or ability to control an undesirable effect. The ability to stop a baby's crying or to keep a baby from ever crying in the first place becomes self-preservation if crying frazzles the nerves; alternatively, it instills a sense of pride. On the other hand, if the caregiver were unable or unwilling to stop a baby's crying, the childcare provider's services would be questionable.

This daycare scenario, while simplistic, seems to capture the relationship between JTPA/community college and the client/student. JTPA/community college wishes to stave off any potential negative accountability reports, so JTPA/community college provide valuable commodities to the client-students: tuition, books, childcare, transportation money, perceived status, caring caseworkers, opportunities to gain knowledge, a degree, a possibility for a better future, and heightened self-esteem. In exchange, the client-students follow the JTPA/community college rules, complete the

JTPA paperwork, attend college, persist until they obtain a degree, obtain a job, and present a positive public image of both JTPA and the community college. The power equation is certainly unbalanced in this relationship. The client-student is unaware that he/she has the power to affect negatively the accountability results of JTPA and the community college. Both of these systems rely on positive outcomes in terms of accountability criteria to maintain or increase funding.

What happens when the client-students do not make progress toward completion? Concessions are made. For example, if the client-students are having academic difficulty, unlimited academic help is available. The college offers free one-on-one tutoring, the JTPA caseworker provides academic help, provides assistance in navigating the route to the best help at the college, or allows students to drop the class producing the difficulty. Even though JTPA stipulates that clients must take a full course load of twelve hours, the caseworker has the flexibility to concede if that will result in persistence toward the degree and the job. If client-students earn a grade of "D" in a class, JTPA stipulates that the client-student will pay for the class; however, the caseworker has the flexibility to concede and pay for the class if that will result in persistence toward completion.

Social appeasement is a form of social reproduction that consists of three parts: Support, Amelioration of Constraints, and Empowerment. Support refers to the tangible support offered through tuition, childcare, transportation, and book money; and the intangible rewards of emotional support, advice, and friendship. Amelioration of constraints refers to any way that the JTPA/community college partnership helped to lessen the constraints of these students' lives. For example, the most commonly reported

constraints were family, employer, health, money, and even in some instances, the college and JTPA. Empowerment refers to a combination of two of the themes that developed during the research—self-esteem and agency. Used in this context, Empowerment referred to the heightened self-esteem that client-students felt over the course of the two years. As a result of heightened self-esteem, the client-students felt more empowered to act as agents on behalf of their own lives.

Why should JTPA/community college care if the client-students are appeased or not? Both organizations need completions for accountability purposes. Completions—graduates of degree programs and job attainment—result in more money and/or satisfaction of accountability standards for the organizations. Completions also provide justification for existence. Last, completions result in pride. The community college can compare its completions to another community college and feel superior. Likewise, JTPA can compare itself to one of the other job training programs and feel superior. Pride leads to the desire to publicize, positive public relations leads to higher enrollment, and higher enrollment leads to the possibility of more funding potential.

From an organizational vantage, these are important reasons for appeasement. From a societal vantage, appeasement is important because it serves to maintain the social hierarchy and keep people "in their place." In the classic case of appeasement, Germany's Hitler could not be satiated by British statesman Chamberlain's concessions of more and more of Eastern Europe. During the 1930s, Chamberlain's professed commitment to avoiding war with Hitler resulted in his controversial policy of "appeasement," which culminated in the Munich Pact in 1938. Although contemporaries and scholars during and after the war criticized Chamberlain for believing that Hitler

could be appeased, recent research argues that Chamberlain was not so naive and that appeasement was a shrewd policy developed to buy time for an ill-prepared Britain to rearm (Charmley, 1990). JTPA's use of social appeasement can also be viewed as "shrewd" policy. Although the client students in this study, unlike Hitler, were satiated as evidenced in their positive comments relative to satisfaction with the JTPA/community college partnership, the shrewdness of the appeasement resulted in positive accountability for both JTPA and the community college. Whereas Britain's gain in the use of appeasement allowed time to rearm, JTPA's gain in the use of appeasement allowed perceived success of the job-training program. An even greater perceived benefit relates to society's need to maintain the social hierarchy.

A more parallel example to client-students' appeasement is what Michael Novak (1997), author of On Corporate Governance, refers to as "corporate appeasement." In this book Novak uses the term appeasement to refer to the use of stock option participation to unite the investment interests of workers with that of the corporation, decentralized entrepreneurship opportunities for employees, and shared decision-making. He feels that these are examples of corporate appeasement because the idea is not so much to share with employees because of concern for the employees, but rather to provide valuable commodities to employees to stave off strikes, "slow walks," or any other acts of resistance that would impede the machinations of the system.

This was not a study of appeasement in the classical Hitler/Chamberlain sense because Hitler knew he had power and he used it time and time again to gain concessions; it was not a study of corporate appeasement because the corporate employees realized their limited power and could and would engage in acts of resistance

if they perceived they were not receiving sufficient rewards. This was, however, a study of social appeasement, a form of social reproduction that inhibits questioning or critique of the unjustness of an economic system that ensures social reproduction. In exchange for tangible and intangible rewards, amelioration of constraints, and acts of perceived empowerment, client-students accepted the social hierarchy that will keep them "in their place." In fact, many of the least successful students, based on JTPA and community college criteria, blamed themselves for their lack of success while many of the most successful, based on JTPA and community college criteria, became cheerleaders for their low-paying jobs that resulted from this partnership between the agencies. The success of "appeasement," then, seems to lie in the degree of power and amount of knowledge of those being appeased; consequently, the JTPA/community college partnership is an example of quintessential appeasement, for the client-students were unaware of the larger structure of systems thwarting their efforts for upward mobility, and they were unaware of their power to affect the success of these systems.

This study is not an indictment of the community college or the JTPA program. These client students were caught in the middle of an economic system that decides which work is valuable and which is not and pays accordingly. The community college and JTPA, too, are caught in the middle of this system. The community college faculty and the JTPA caseworkers are just as much victims of social appeasement as the client-students; therefore, to point a finger at them only perpetuates the unjustness of it all.

Methodological Reflection

I had read and appreciated such work as Paul Willis' (1981) Learning to Labour, Bowles' and Gintis' (1976) Schooling in Capitalist America, and Jay MacLeod's (1987)

Ain't No Makin' It, and Michelle Fine's (1991) Framing Dropouts. I had also read Boudieu and Passeron's (1977) Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture. I was also well aware of the research regarding community colleges. Brint and Karabel's (1989) The Diverted Dream argued that the American dream eludes significant numbers of community college students and that a community college education has not produced economic return for many of its graduates. In his book, Second Best: The Crisis of the Community College, Zwerling (1976) advocated eliminating the community colleges altogether because they have second-class status and have done little to contribute to social mobility. While researching JTPA, I discovered that JTPA operates under Human Capital theory (Grubb, 1978). This theory states that schools and work organizations offer open opportunity and that individuals' attainment of rewards is largely a function of how hard they work and the ability, education, and training they possess. Training for people is a good investment because increased human capital results in increased economic reward for society. After reading these accounts, I originally believed that my participants were different from those portrayed in this literature because my participants had redefined themselves because of cultural appropriation or production. After all, none of my participants had engaged in acts of resistance to their environment or had been blatant victims of racism or sexism. Because of my reading indoctrination and mindset, I was prepared to expect players in the game of cultural production; instead, I discovered accomplices in the game of social reproduction.

How could my participants have become accomplices of social reproduction?

Belief in the American Dream ideology was the first requirement. According to President Bill Clinton in a speech to the Democratic Leadership Council in 1993, "The

American Dream that we were all raised on is a simple but powerful one—if you work hard and play by the rules you should be given a chance to go as far as your God-given ability will take you."

In one sentence, President Clinton captured the shared, presumed tenets about achieving success that provide the foundation for the ideology of the American Dream. Implicit are the ideas that anyone who works hard and follows the rules, regardless of race, creed, age, sex, or socio-economic status, should be able to be successful; that God-given ability is the only constraint if one works hard and plays by the rules; and that resources are unlimited to those who work hard and follow the rules.

The American Dream is highly individual, in that it leads one to focus on people's behaviors rather than on economic processes or political structures as the causal explanation for social structure. That focus, especially when reinforced by the leader of the country, carries a moral message—that there must be something wrong with the individual who cannot achieve success. The message implies that people are born a blank slate, no reproduction of anything, brand new where anything is possible. The focus makes it difficult for Americans to see that everyone cannot achieve success. This is the first step in explaining and understanding how my client-students were both victims of social appeasement and accomplices of social reproduction.

First, they believed in the American dream ideology. Next, they were carefully screened at the beginning of the JTPA program. Screened at the outset by JTPA for desirable workplace characteristics such as compliance, attitude, motivation, commitment, and general belief in the idea of "possibility," these students believed they had been given a second chance to become Somebody. Third, they were given tangible

items that made a difference in their quality of life. In addition to the opportunity to receive a community college "scholarship," JTPA also paid for books, transportation, and childcare. Even better, since JTPA would pay for all the education essentials, that would leave PELL grant excess to be used to purchase something such as a car or roof, in the case of two of the participants. Even if Kayla did have to return to waitressing because her nursing home job did not pay a living wage, JTPA did pay for the Human Services degree. Because JTPA paid for school expenses, she was able to use her Pell grant money to pay for a car. How could she not be appreciative for all that had been given to her? And, after all, it had been her decision to return to waitressing; she could have pursued a different job. Instead of questioning the value of a Human Services associate degree or questioning the wisdom of advising someone into a degree that had a minimum-wage return, or questioning the implicit belief that caring for nursing home residents was not worth much to society, or questioning the definition of "education" and what it means to be educated, Kayla kept quiet, other than to extol the virtues of the JTPA/community college partnership. She, along with the other client-students, had learned not to look a gift horse in the mouth if one wants to keep the gifts. Many would see that as an admirable personal quality; the problem that arises, however, is the perpetuation of social injustice and the garnering of unwitting working-class proponents for the status quo. After all, if the working-class are not complaining, and, in fact, if they seem to be disciples, would not this provide the justification to the wealthy for the continuation of this type of domination? Not only is society being reproduced, it is being insidiously reproduced through the technique of social appeasement whereby the victims of social reproduction have been unwittingly appeased into silence.

The consequent narratives revealed people who lived and worked under major constraints; people who appreciated the tangible support of tuition, transportation, childcare, books; people who felt they had become Somebody as a result of their JTPA/community college experience; and people who felt empowered as a result of the heightened self-esteem and support from JTPA/community college. What never emerged, however, was an awareness that the gain of selective aspects of cultural capital does not necessarily translate into privileges of a higher social class.

"Social Reproduction," provided the grand theory for this research, but mid-range theories under the umbrella of "social reproduction" provided more complete explanations for client-student behavior, rather than just cavalierly attributing everything to social reproduction. For instance, Astin's theory of student involvement (1975) is used extensively by community college student affairs personnel as they search for ways to retain students. According to Astin, if students become academically and socially involved in the culture of the college, they will become integrated and will not be as likely to drop out. This theory was used to help explain why five of the students graduated and are working in their field. It also provides insight into why the two who transferred to four-year colleges dropped out. It is one thing to say, "get students academically and socially involved," and it is another entirely to look at why students do or do not become involved.

Burton Clark's "cooling out" theory (1960) helps explain the behavior of the students who are working out of their field of training. Community college personnel, especially those involved in student affairs, use Clark to help understand why students do not transfer at a higher rate to four-year colleges and why others drop out. He felt that

college teachers and counselors use five methods to cool out students: alternate achievement (substitute route), gradual disengagement (goal stalling, poor performance), objective denial (record of poor performance), agents of consolation (patient counselors who try to change intentions), and avoidance of standards (convincing students that all kinds of ability are important in their places). Avoidance of standards is a clear example of social reproduction and is especially enlightening when thinking about the three client-students who are working out of their field. Whoever helped Kayla decide to seek a Human Services degree may have felt at the outset that she would never transfer to a four-year college to achieve her dream of being a social worker. She had missed most of her high school years and did not have the financial means. As a result, she was guided into the next closest field—Human Services. Since she could not make a living with this credential, she went back to waitressing. Although she had certainly been cooled out from her original aspirations, this change in plans is an example of social reproduction. Instead of a transformative approach to helping Kayla achieve her goal, her social class background was being reinforced by placing her in field of training where graduates attend to the hygiene of elderly adults, empty the bedpans of hospital patients, or help restrain a violent youth.

Jay MacLeod (1987) and his theory of leveled aspirations and Bourdieu and Passeron's (1977) theory of cultural capital provide a way to explain students' behavior. Just as MacLeod's Brothers "followed the rules" of the commonly accepted path to advancement and were thwarted in their attempts by social forces, especially race, fourteen of the client-students were thwarted and left with leveled or diminished aspirations. Kayla and Denise never made it the four-year college to become the social

workers they so desired. Even though they had followed the JTPA/community college "rules," economic forces kept them firmly in their places. Lori and Terry transferred to the four-year college but dropped out. Certainly, their aspirations were leveled when the academic and social integration they desired did not materialize. Because it has taken the four who are still in community college an extra semester or semesters, their aspirations have been somewhat diminished. Certainly, self-doubt has been planted. This, alone, may conspire against their completion. Even the client-students working in their field of training—Rhonda, Janet, Sandy, Marsha, and Jean—ones who seemingly transcended all odds and who made it, will not be able to afford the amenities they presumed would be forthcoming upon completion of a degree, such as a house in the suburbs, a vehicle of choice, vacations, the American Dream "essentials," because their jobs of secretary or nurse will not provide that kind of financial return.

Bourdieu and Passeron's (1977) theory of cultural capital certainly helps explain the lack of social mobility. With the exception of three client-students who were indigenous to the middle class, all others were working class. Without access to the dominant form of culture in terms of language, behavior, knowledge, the working-class client-students are not likely to appropriate enough cultural capital through their own efforts to transform their lives. Erica and Linda, successful four-year college transfer students, know how to play the game and will surely be able to acquire the credential that will validate their presence in the middle class. Marsha is the outlier. She was from a middle-class background but engaged in the perceived working-class behavior of having an illegitimate child.

Social reproduction and many of its guises provided the theoretical framework for this study. But how were students appeased into being accomplices to something that affected them detrimentally? Social appeasement may have occurred because the JTPA/community college partnership provided tangible and intangible support, amelioration of constraints, and perceived empowerment.

Examining the Recurring Themes: Support, Amelioration of Constraints, and Empowerment:

As acknowledged through the narratives, all the participants dealt with extensive constraints such as family, employers, personal health, college, JTPA, and money. Poverty was the overriding constraint, and most other constraints were either directly or indirectly related. The constraints, however, were ameliorated by the tangible and intangible support they received and by their own acts of perceived empowerment, attributed primarily to their heightened self-esteem. Because the themes are interrelated, it becomes impossible to discuss constraints and their amelioration without also discussing the support provided to make amelioration possible. Just as it is impossible to discuss the importance of JTPA/community college support without discussing the constraints, it is impossible to discuss empowerment without discussing the JTPA/community college support. As a result, the themes will be discussed conjointly, rather than separately. In addition, the discussion of these analytic themes is presented according to their chapter groupings: Participants Still in Community College; Participants Who are Working Out of their Field of Training; Participants Who Graduated and are Working in Their Field of Training; and Participants Who Transferred to a Four-Year College.

Participants Still in Community College—Not surprisingly, these four students had more severe constraints than the others. Mary's life was consumed with the care of her child. She had health care for a part of each day, but her son required 24-hour care with administering the meds, cleaning the port, etc. The physical constraint does not even compare with the emotional toll such an illness would have on a parent. The constant worry, the constant "being on duty," interrupted by frantic trips to the hospital two hours away in the middle of the night, would place a terrible burden on a student trying to earn a degree. On the other hand, Mary was so appreciative of the teachers who understood her situation and worked with her in fulfilling assignments and meeting deadlines.

> Mary: Here (the community college) the instructors know you and know what's going on and they help you. In larger universities you don't get that closeness with the instructors. You want to succeed because that instructor knows you.

The 24-hour care of the sick is emotionally and physically draining for the caregiver. School provided an interlude for Mary—something else to focus on for a few hours a day. Mary admitted enjoying getting together with other students in the electronic technology program to have lunch. Certainly, school was a refuge from the responsibilities to her sick child.

Anna had the financial burden and worry of repaying a $20,000 education debt to a trade school. She realizes that she is ineligible for additional financial assistance until that debt is repaid. She has the additional constraint of single-handedly raising her eight-year-old daughter. The daughter has ADD; this requires that Anna spend a good portion of her allotted study time helping her daughter with her homework. During one semester, Anna had the added burden of dealing with a charge of selling beer to a minor while she

was working at a convenience store. She gave her caseworker a lot of credit for seeing her through this time and keeping her focused on school.

> Anna: Anyway, during all of this, Jack (the caseworker) sent me a letter and he said, "Keep your head up. You did great last semester in your grades. Keep your faith in the Lord, and things will be all right." It was so great to have a letter of encouragement. I'm glad I have him.

Anna also credited the college for her sense of accomplishment and growth as a person. Although Anna is being trained in Business Management, she recognizes the more global importance of school.

> Anna: I love being in college. College teaches you to be a well-rounded person. You have all these classes, and you get to pick all these classes to build a better you, so you can build armor for yourself. . . .for instance, I am taking Spanish. I wanted to take that because that is going to help me in the job market. I used to think in high school that I wouldn't be talking to anyone in Spanish, but look at the world today. It's getting closer and closer.

Hank has the financial responsibility of providing for a family of five. He has to work full time at the hospital in order to make ends meet. At a little above minimum wage, that is a worry. He recognizes that working full time and attending nursing school full time do not leave much study time. He attributes his failure of third semester to lack of study. He also credits his caseworker for pulling him through the semester he had to sit out.

> Hank: My caseworker has been staying in touch this semester; he thinks I'll get back in during the fall. I sure hope so.

Ashley works "part-time" for 60 hours a week at a nursing home while she waits to reapply to nursing school. She, too, failed the third semester. Ashley, her husband, and her daughter are currently living in the basement apartment of her in-laws. This arrangement has placed a great deal of pressure on her marriage and her sanity. Her husband had been hurt on the job; now, however he waits to hear from the "big guy"

about building racecars. While he waits for the call, he does not feel he can watch "her," so childcare arrangements fall to Ashley. Her husband received a $20,000 settlement from his work-related accident. Ashley vows not to touch it because it represents a down payment for a home. College provides a refuge from the uncomfortable environment of her in-laws. She, too, is appreciative of the opportunity to experience higher education.

> Ashley: I love college. High school was okay, but I love college. . .you know people, and those people have an effect on your life. Here, you get students from China, just different.

Participants Who Are Working Out of Their Field of Training—Kayla lives at home to care for a physically and emotionally impaired mother. She returned to her waitressing job because she made more money in two days than in five at the nursing home. While she was in college, the lack of reliable transportation was a serious constraint.

> Kayla: This has given me the opportunity to get the nicest car I have ever had, a 1988 Cavalier—it's great. I've always had somebody else's piece of junk that they didn't want, and they felt sorry for me and let me have it so I'd have something to drive.

Obviously, Kayla was appreciative of the car; for the first time in her life, she was not dependent on others for transportation. In addition to the tangible support, Kayla was also appreciative of her caseworker's emotional support.

> Kayla: I could stop in any time, and she'd stop whatever she was doing and say, "Kayla, do you need me?" I never felt I was bothering her. She'd always say, "You can do it; just don't give up, and take one thing at a time." She's my friend.

Before Denise started college, she had been a battered spouse. Though her ex-husband had been in prison all through her two years at college, she expected him to show up at her house. Right after she started school, her live-in boyfriend lost his job, so

she had to support her two sons and her boyfriend by working at a gas station. She credits her caseworker for the emotional support to help her persist, especially during the time she was struggling with math.

> Denise: If it weren't for her, I think I would have just given up. I was so tired. She told me about a test anxiety workshop that I could take. It really helped.

In addition to the emotional support, Denise was grateful for the opportunity to feel in charge of her life once again.

> Denise: I was always independent, a survivor. College has made me even that much more independent. It's hard to explain. You become your own person like I said before. Mom and Dad's daughter, someone's mother, you're not that here. I'm Denise James, and that's who I am here, and I'm the one making the grade, doing all of it. It makes you feel great. I would tell everyone besides all the learning, it will make you see a side of yourself that you never knew. You'll realize who that real person is because you're doing it for yourself.

Beth suffered the constraint of trying to live alone and support herself while attempting college. She ended up working many hours that resulted in no time to study that resulted in failure of her third and fourth semesters of nursing school. After she failed the third semester, though, and was sitting out a semester before reapplying to the nursing program, Beth credited the JTPA caseworker for support.

> Beth: When I failed third semester, my caseworker called and kept on me about hanging tough, getting through, taking a class to stay in touch. She really wanted me to come back.

Participants Who Graduated and Are Working in Their Field—During college, Rhonda was working "all the time" at her lingerie "fun" shop that she had opened. She was trying to make a go of a new business while trying to finish school. She was also the single parent of a sixteen-year-old son during this time. Rhonda had worked hard all of

her life. As she said, she would probably still be at the sewing factory if she had not developed tendonitis. When she was out of work on disability, she felt demeaned when she had to traverse the social services governmental agencies. She was very appreciative of the helping attitude demonstrated by her JTPA caseworker.

> Rhonda: It's not like other government agencies where they sit behind their desks. JTPA gets involved with the emotional life of students. They really care.
>
> A lot of people in higher places like the Unemployment Office, for example, has a tendency to make some people feel like "I'm giving you this. This is my money to you." JTPA has always been like, "This money is for you. You have earned it; you deserve it. This is your gift from all of us."

Janet's partially disabled husband and three children placed a strain on her college career, but her husband was able to help with children's transportation. College provided a way out of boredom and drudgery for Janet. She embraced the opportunity to do something different and was validated for her efforts.

> Janet: JTPA has meant everything to me. Financially, I did not have the money to go to school. They paid my tuition, they paid for daycare, they paid mileage from my made a tremendous difference in the lives of the students. The only thing I had to buy was like paper and pencils. Without them, there's no way.
>
> My grades have really been good, too. I'm proud. I was even nominated for Who's Who last semester—I'm a Who! It goes by leadership, the way you act in the classroom, activities you are involved in and things like that. I'm a lot happier now than what I was before I came to school.

Sandy worked full time during nursing school, but she was able to maintain a 4.0 GPA. She supported herself and lived alone. Sandy had a certain awareness that full disclosure was denied to her. For instance, Sandy challenged the mandatory placement recommendation; as a result, she bypassed developmental math, proceeded to college

algebra, and saved herself a semester. Whereas she was critical of the college advising, she very much appreciated the support of JTPA.

> Sandy: JTPA is more relationship than other governmental agencies. For instance, my caseworker Sherry says that all problems have solutions, and her job is to help find solutions . . .Last year Sherry gave me a book about grants for nursing. I never knew it existed. People not in JTPA are sort of lost when it comes to help they can get.

Marsha was a single mother of a three-year-old during her college years and worked part-time at home. From flunking out as a new student in college, to going to Atlanta and having an illegitimate child, Marsha had something to prove to herself and her middle-class parents. While living in government housing and babysitting, she heard about JTPA from a neighbor and gives JTPA and the community college all the credit for her success.

> Marsha: If I hadn't hooked up with JTPA, I would probably still be babysitting. It's frightening to think about. I don't think I would have taken the initiative or felt the confidence to do anything but baby-sit.
>
> As I said before, it's paid for everything, especially the childcare because it's allowed me to work part-time as opposed to full-time; therefore, I have more time to put into my studies. As a result, I have a 4.0, which will help me get scholarships so I can continue. I think it's made all the difference. I couldn't have done it without it, basically.

While at the community college, Marsha excelled in her business classes. As a result, she was asked to teach some computer classes for the college. Marsha already had the cultural capital she needed to identify with the middle-class faculty. Of course she expended the effort, but had she not had the language and the behaviors of the dominant culture, she would not have been asked to represent the college by teaching computer classes.

> Marsha: I also teach computer software classes like Powerpoint, Excel, internet courses for the college in continuing education. Believe it or not, teaching is good money for the number of hours in the position. My teachers here helped me get the job; they recommended me.

Jean was a newly divorced forty-five year-old woman with two children to support. Her older two children did not live at home, but she often babysat for her two-year-old grandson. She had never worked outside the home.

> Jean: I dropped out of school when I was a junior and stayed out for a few years, and then I took my GED, and my grade was one of the highest. I then went to the vocational school, and I hate to say this, but vocational school is a waste of time because it doesn't hold any weight when you go for a job interview. I learned a lot, but it is not held in high esteem. The guidance counselor there told me a diploma from us and fifty-nine cents will get you a cup of coffee anywhere.
>
> When I first came back to college, I was scared because I thought being my age, I was going to be in there with all those eighteen-year-olds and I just knew I was going to be like everybody's else's grandmother. But as it turned out, nontraditional students are more prevalent than I thought. There are several people out here my age. I'm really enjoying it, and I'm going to miss it; it's just good for your self-esteem . . .my dad would have been so proud of me if he could see me graduate. He always wanted me to go to college. I'll be the first in my family to graduate.

Clearly, Jean felt that college had much higher status than the vocational school, and she expects more reward from the college. She feels very proud of her accomplishment and comments on her increase in self-esteem. She is openly complimentary of JTPA's help.

> Jean: I was in a dilemma—I could either get my roof repaired or pay my tuition, so I called up the caseworker for JTPA, and she got me started in the program. Since JTPA paid my tuition, I was able to get my roof repaired with the PELL grant money. They've been so good to me.
>
> The people at JTPA—I don't know if it's typical or just here—but they're really kind and helpful. It's not just like some government agencies where they look at you like, "What rock did you crawl out from under?" They treat you like an equal.

Participants Who Transferred to a Four-Year College—Lori was severely constrained by lack of finances and geography. She wanted a bachelor's degree in

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photojournalism, but that required a three-hour daily commute to the four-year college or moving to the area. Divorced for many years, drug-free for three, Lori wanted a life off welfare and dependency. After she moved to the college town, she found a job at a fast-food sandwich shop. She had expended the JTPA funds, so she was using her PELL grant to cover tuition; she had to work to support herself. Her father developed prostate cancer during the first-semester of her four-year college experience. Certainly, Lori operated under tremendous constraints but managed to complete an associate's degree. She credits JTPA for their support.

> Lori: If it hadn't been for JTPA, I'd probably be selling drugs again. That's the only opportunity I would have had to make this kind of money, you know. Naturally, you can't make that kind of money every day, or I couldn't, so why not? Why not? I couldn't get a good job with no education, no nothing.

Terry was happy as a stay-at-home mom until her husband suffered an accident at work that left him unable to work for the rest of his life. She is the mother of three children. Terry, too, was openly supportive of JTPA and the community college.

> Terry: I'd recommend it (JTPA) to anyone. They require you to have a 2.5 average. It gives you the desire to do better, because you don't want them to see you as a failure. Sometimes they will recommend certain instructors that other participants have had good luck with. They gave me a recommendation to take Ted, and he is so good. He's excellent, and you don't get bored with his voice. I'm really tickled I had him because last semester I didn't learn as much as I should have. He's brought me up where I understand and I don't dread going to class.

Erica never knew when she might have to move because her husband was in the Coast Guard. She misses her mother who lives in Panama. Compared to the other client-students, Erica had few constraints on her life, but she was very appreciative of the JTPA help.

> Erica: This program does not require that the money be paid back to compensate the government back. In my case, I am going against time

> right now because my husband might be transferred again, so I am taking classes now so I can fulfill that goal. I want to finish my two-year degree in two years. If I don't have to pay anything back to the government, then I want to do it as fast as I can. I don't like to pay interest to the banks, and if I don't have to pay back to the government I don't want to.

Clearly, Erica is appreciative of the money. She knows she will transfer and will have to secure funding for that. In the meantime, she will use the free tuition money to obtain two years of her desired four-year degree. From a middle-class background, Erica has a clear understanding of the importance of a bachelor's degree credential.

> Erica: Most people come to college to get a higher pay when they finish school, but many people come to college because that is the demand. If you want to be successful and recognized in your community, that is what is valued. Too, it is an investment in your future for you and your future family. It expands your knowledge. You become more knowledgeable. Not everything should be important to you, but more things become important to you the more you know.

Linda is the single mother of two pre-school sons. Her mother baby-sits one boy, and one attends preschool. She has not worked since the boys were born. As a single mother of two young sons, Linda has a busy life, but she did not seem to have the financial constraints that oppressed so many of the other client-students. Whereas so many of the others had no choice but to work, Linda has not worked since the boys were born; she believes that it is important for her to be with the children while they are babies. Some of my other participants may have felt similarly, but could not act upon those feelings. She, too, is appreciative of the JTPA/community college support.

> Linda: There's a lot of adults who don't have the experience they need. From my point of view, I mean I can't pay for college. I can't afford it.
>
> The academic advisor I have is a wonderful lady. I like her a lot. She listens to me through thick and thin. Most of the time I go in with a general idea of what I want to take and then I already have my schedule made out, but then she might

> say you should take this first. I mean she's good, she's been wonderful. She has counseled me, especially in terms of grades.

Examining the constraints through the different groups rather than by individuals exemplifies a pattern of the more successful the client-student, the fewer constraints that oppress. Certainly that is no surprise, but when the magnitude of the constraints are compared and contrasted for different groups, it is easy to understand just how important the amelioration of constraints becomes for client-students if they are to succeed academically. The emotional support of the JTPA caseworker was one of the most important amelioration components.

By addressing the emotional encumbrance of lower-class life, the JTPA caseworker made a tremendous difference in the lives of the students. The caseworker became their advocate, their navigator through a foreign land, and often, their interpreter. Once their caseworker could assure them that they really were "college" students and could convince them that they could do college-level work, participants developed a positive self-concept. Many of the participants directly credited the caseworker with their success and persistence on the college campus.

Certainly the caseworker occupied an integral role in the JTPA participant's life. How did the community college fit into the participant's life?

The community college provided access to a culture that would have been denied them otherwise. As with JTPA, this access allowed the client-students the opportunity to pursue the idea of "educated person." In my research I interviewed sixteen people who desired to make something of themselves; they perceived the community college as the place to make that happen.

Conclusions

What is interesting, here, is the JTPA/community college collaborative role in appeasement. Perhaps the students would not have been so appeased if JTPA alone were being examined or if the community college alone were being examined. What JTPA could not provide, the community college did, and what the community college could not provide, JTPA did. For example, for a number of reasons, most community college students live in a rather fragmented environment where they meet with their advisors for class scheduling, attend classes, go to work, and go home. Very few engage in social activities that would lead to social integration within the community college culture because most work 20 or more hours per week. As a result, there is little time for studying, thus leading to academic difficulty in many cases. Typically, community college students do not talk to their teachers or their advisors about academic difficulty. Perhaps they feel embarrassed about their failure and end up dropping the class, or worse, not dropping the class but not attending, resulting in a semester's worth of failing grades. The JTPA caseworker ameliorates this situation by checking attendance and grades, calling students, setting up advising sessions to discuss prioritizing and workload, or just listening. As a result, the JTPA caseworker is invaluable in lessening the feelings of isolation, alienation, or fragmentation.

JTPA, however, cannot provide the legitimacy that the community college can. As a perceived site of cultural production, the community college provides experiences, classes, interactions, and environment that legitimates the institution as status-bearing. JTPA participants could have chosen trade schools such as truck driving school or vocational schools for their training agencies, but they did not. They deliberately chose

the community college for the status they perceived it offered them. In addition to the JTPA two-year training, they were in pursuit of what it means to be an "educated" person. JTPA, coupled with the community college, results in a unique collaboration that provides tangible and intangible support, along with status; this relationship culminates in client-students' appeasement.

What would JTPA and the community college gain through social appeasement? JTPA programs want to survive. Without clients who complete a training program, land a job, and remain on the job for at least three months, JTPA will not be considered "successful" by its own accountability standards. A decline of positive accountability will result in sanctions such as loss of funding, loss of political support, and the jeopardy of elimination. Because of its youth and susceptibility of political maneuvering, JTPA is not as institutionalized as the community college. JTPA needs clients to be working in a job and reporting positive association when an independent auditor contacts the clients three months after completion of training. Despite negative experiences or outcomes, clients will report favorably because a tacit agreement exists between JTPA and the client-students whereby both parties agree to the exchange of rewards for silence. In exchange for the "goodies," JTPA can expect a positive report, because "you don't look a gift horse in the mouth."

As an established education institution, the community college does not have as much to lose as JTPA if students are not successful. In fact, functionalists would say that one of the functions is to ensure a certain number of "cool outs," as Burton Clark (1960) would call those students. On the other hand, Kentucky's Core Standards and Measures report issued by the Council on Post-Secondary Education measures each post-secondary

institution every two years on retention, job placement, basic and advanced academic skills, guidance and counseling, completion rate, occupational competency, collaboration rate between technical education and other educational agencies, special populations, and gender mix. Positive public relations usually translate into more student enrollment, and the community college funding is directly proportional to enrollment. It does not hurt to report "success" stories.

Client-students believed and had experiences that supported the belief that the community college provided status, resulting in their heightened sense of self-esteem. Client-students would not say anything negative about the community college that they believe has changed their lives. After all, some of them have a credential that proves they are educated. Even if that credential does not result in a job that pays more than minimum wage, they still have that credential, and that gives them status among people who do not have the credential.

Did the students receive any long-term benefits from their client-student status? Financially, that could only be answered if students were tracked through their careers, but probably not because an associate degree simply does not provide the academic capital required to gain entry into a career field that might result in sufficient economic capital to rise above the working class status. Unless students are fortunate enough to enter community college with the cultural capital of the middle class, a two-year associate degree does not provide enough time for students to accrue sufficient cultural capital to make a difference to socioeconomic status. In addition, once the scaffolding of the JTPA childcare and transportation subsidies are removed, many former JTPA

participants are actually financially worse off working in a field for which they have been trained than when they were welfare recipients.

More importantly, according to Barry Bluestone (1995), an economic analyst for more than two decades now, real wages in America have been stagnating or falling, the distributions of earnings and income have become increasingly unequal, and the bulk of financial wealth has been accumulating among fewer and fewer families. Since 1973, real average weekly earnings for the more than eighty percent of the workforce who are counted as production or nonsupervisory workers have fallen by 19 percent; and median family income is no higher than twenty years ago. Income gains have gone primarily to the already well-off, while those at the bottom of the income distribution have sustained real losses.

Robert Reich (1991), President Clinton's first secretary of labor, analyzed America's workforce in the 90s. While Bluestone (1995) analyzed wealth distribution, Reich analyzed job competition. Reich identified the top 20 percent workers as "symbolic analysts." These are the problem solvers and creators or ideas and symbols. They are engineers, bankers, lawyers, writers, designers, and consultants. Theirs is an international job market.

Reich classified the working class (the bottom 55 percent of American workers) in two ways: "in-person service workers" and "routine production service workers." In-person service workers are in retail sales, hospital and health care, food services, and security. Since these services are delivered "in-person," these jobs cannot be easily exported. According to Reich (1991), in-person service work is often characterized as

nurturing work or women's work. It is poorly paid, and these jobs make up a little more than half of the working-class jobs in America today.

A little less than half of the working class in America today are in routine production service work that Reich (1991) characterizes as the assembly line workers of the older heavier industries and in the newer electronics industries. These jobs are exportable. While work in newer industries is cleaner and easier, shops are not unionized and the pay is lower. The number of well-paid jobs in older industries is declining while the number of poorly paid jobs in new industries is increasing.

The last 20 percent comprise the middle class—what Reich (1991) refers to as government workers, teachers, local and federal employees, and physicians paid through Medicaid and Medicare. In the past twenty years, numbers have grown at the top and bottom while the number in the middle has declined. Those at the top have grown richer, the bottom poorer, and the middle about the same. Reich observed that the fastest growing occupation in America is the security guard.

For client-students armed with an associate degree in mostly in-service education programs, the financial future appears bleak. Based on Reich's (1991) calculations and predictions, client-students would have little chance to improve their social status without a bachelor's degree

This study revealed that each client-student gained rewards such as self-esteem, and educational growth and development. No one can argue the value of such rewards; however, given the purpose of JTPA—to provide two years of training/education so that participants can become tax-paying, non-welfare dependent workers—appeasement becomes condescending and manipulative. Based on their expectations at the outset of

the JTPA/community college partnership, the client-students in this study believed they would obtain a job that offered them respect, enough income to provide a home, healthcare, car, some savings for their children's education, or an occasional vacation. Unfortunately, none of the client-students gained or will gain that level of reward as a sole result of their JTPA/community college partnership. What could possibly be done to prevent or ameliorate the level of appeasement?

Barry Bluestone (1995) argues that American society need not be so polarized. He points to other capitalistic nations such as the Netherlands that actually experienced a decline in income inequality during the 80s; to France, Germany, and Italy that experienced no noticeable change in wage differentials; and Australia, Canada, Japan, and Sweden that suffered only modest increases in wage dispersion. A naïve assumption might be if other countries have a more just, equitable society, so could the United States. Doing nothing portends a future of frustrated dreams and prolonged poverty.

The evidence suggests that the client-students' education will not result in the financial return they had hoped for or had expected; however, the client-students believed that they did benefit from the JTPA/community college partnership. Perhaps the client-students became closer to the idea of "educated" than graduates of more esteemed colleges. For instance, how many four-year college students would give "I love college because I learned I like to read" as a reason for attending college?, or "because you meet so many different people from different cultures?" or "because it expands your world?" Certainly, the client-students transformed some aspects of their lives, discrete bits that might be insignificant if referring to a change in social status but important because of

their perceived value, nevertheless. They wanted to "better" themselves; they wanted to become "somebody." As Janet said, "I'm a Who!"

Recommendations

Because this study had so many complex, multi-disciplinary issues pertaining to the attributes of the welfare capitalistic structure and social reproduction, broad-based recommendations are not appropriate. Based on this research, however, the following narrowly focused recommendations for community colleges and JTPA are offered:

1. Community colleges should require a sociology class with an emphasis on social critique as a general education requirement for all degrees. At the social-system level, community colleges (as do all schools) pattern maintenance institutions that lack autonomy and are dependent on the larger society for resources and legitimation. Society depends on schools to continue the socialization begun by the family and thus to provide intergenerational continuity, a necessary condition for societal survival. However, community colleges could take the lead as "democracy's college," by offering a class that examines social inequality and then discussing if that is the right or best state for a society
2. Transfer students should be assigned a transfer advisor. This is an academic advisor who knows the pitfalls potentially faced by community college students and prepares transfer students for those realities. JTPA concentrates on students working toward the Associate of Applied Science degree, a terminal degree. As a result, the caseworkers may have little experience counseling or advising students who have been allowed to pursue the Associate of Arts or Associate of Science degree. The community college staff should assume this responsibility since transfer is one of the

missions of the community college. In this study, two of the four students who transferred to the four-year college dropped out. The two who are still pursuing the bachelor's degree came from middle class backgrounds. Undoubtedly, they had help in navigating the four-year experience or knew how to obtain the necessary help because they and their families had significantly more cultural capital than the lower-class students. A transfer advisor would help thwart social or cultural reproduction by helping students to navigate the complexities of transfer.

3. Transfer students should comprise an important part of institutional research. To date, community colleges in Kentucky do very little in the way of tracking their students. Consequently, there is no way to know if students complete or drop out. More important, there is no way to know why they persist or why they drop out. This information would help in advising transfer students; again, the information would help prevent social and/or cultural reproduction; instead, it would help community colleges foster cultural production.

4. Community college financial aid staff should commit to helping transfer students lobby for financial aid from four-year colleges. Aid programs should give transfer students as much aid as first-year students or continuing students. Financial aid becomes very important to transfer students, especially JTPA transfer students. Once the financial support of childcare, transportation, and tuition is removed at the end of the two-years, ex-JTPA students often have a difficult time making it economically. Transfer financial aid or transfer scholarships could make the difference in a successful transfer for the student toward the new track of cultural production or appropriation.

5. Community college student affairs staff should determine the two or three most popular transfer colleges and arrange for bus trips to those campuses for orientation, registration, filling out financial aid, etc. Students who lack cultural capital have no familiarity with the middle-class world of academe. If they are to be successful, they should be taught "how to do college."
6. Community college student affairs staff should maintain lists of transfer students so that students planning to transfer to a certain college could be paired to a student already there. This service would go far in alleviating the fear that accompanies transfer for many students, especially those students who are first-generation college students
7. Community college faculty should become conscious of their worth to the community, to the students, and to society by becoming transformative intellectuals. Henry Giroux (1988) calls for teachers to be transformative intellectuals. To be intellectually critical educators, teachers must not only be intellectuals in the sense that they reflect seriously on the meaning and consequences of their practice, but be critical in the sense that they question the taken-for-granted assumptions—the "that's the way it's always been" of school practice and societal organization. Critical teachers have the responsibility to question political motives and social inequities with their students in an ongoing effort to create a more democratic and equitable society. Giroux says, "Teachers must work to create the conditions that give students the opportunity to become citizens who have the knowledge and courage to struggle in order to make despair unconvincing and hope practical" (Giroux 1988, p. 128).

8. Academic advisors should be more involved with their students. Many participants commented that academic advisors should be as involved in the students' lives as the JTPA caseworker. The JTPA caseworker was identified as the one "who made a difference" in continuation of the degree. Laura Rendon (1994) believes the community college faculty and staff must make intentional efforts to validate students. The validating process will lead to greater retention and academic success. Her study concluded that students will be more likely to persist if institutions help them to be successful at negotiating the transition to college, becoming involved in campus academic and social life, and developing positive attitudes about their learning ability. In efforts to involve students in campus life, the campus community must know that nontraditional students will not become involved on their own, and that simply offering opportunities for involvement is not enough. The key to involving students is to create validating academic and social communities in and out of class. According to Rendon (1994), what successful students remember are incidents when they experience validation and when faculty, staff, friends or family members actively reached out to them and affirmed them as capable. Colleges can create in-class validating communities by personalizing the atmosphere, by offering one-on-one feedback, and fostering diverse curricula and positive classroom environments. Out-of-class validating environments require a hospitable campus climate and an institutional climate that connects the cognitive and social dimensions of the college.

Realistically, many community college academic advisors have too many advisees to do much more than register them for class. A reassignment of duties may

be necessary to ensure that advisors have the time to inquire into the advisee's future plans and current progress. A letter to the advisee before registration might help foster that validation that Rendon recommends. The academic advisor has the opportunity to become as important to the advisee's shaping of identity as the JTPA caseworker by offering help and advice. Typically, lower-class students do not know the important questions to ask about their college future, for they have no prior knowledge of higher education.

9. Community colleges should strive to maintain a strong liberal arts program. Community college may be the closest many people ever get to the world of higher education. "Vocational education and adult education directed to literacy, job upgrading, or leisure activities cannot provide the critical literacy that is central to the democratic ideal," says Kevin Dougherty (1994, p. 250). A strong liberal arts sector in the community college is important to provide the faculty and the culture that promote critical thinking for the entire college. The JTPA participants reported that they were very proud to be associated with a "college." A college had status, and helped to alter their self-perception accordingly.

10. The community college leaders should utilize figures on its rates of attrition, transfer, and graduation to examine programs as they relate to educational demands and requirements for maintaining standards of living and quality of life. This would emphasize the role that the institution plays in educational and social selection processes. The reality of Burton Clark's (1960) cooling out should be understood by all who enroll in the community college and by community college personnel and leaders.

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11. Community colleges should offer stronger career advising/counseling programs. Many students have no concept of the educational requirements, academic requirements, workplace demand, earning power, or responsibilities of many jobs or careers. A career-advising center could provide the information so that students could better able make independent, critical decisions concerning their futures.

The following recommendations apply to JTPA:

1. A JTPA coordinator should have an office on the community college campus. All participants enrolled at the community college where the JTPA coordinator had an office on campus appeared to be more academically successful and less in jeopardy of dropping out of the program. Others spoke of the hardships of trying to "get downtown" to see the caseworker or to drop off attendance sheets, etc. Since many of the participants reported a friendship with their caseworker, easy access to that friend could result in accumulating additional cultural capital for these participants. To "check in" just to be validated, to share a success, or to share a burden were foreign transactions to many of the participants. The participants were living lives constrained by money, health, and family problems; therefore, it was helpful in many instances to have immediate access to that social service agency friend who had the cultural capital to be able to ameliorate a problematic situation or to provide the support to help the participants persist.
2. JTPA should follow up for at least one full year. Some participants seemed to become dependent on the emotional support of the caseworker over the course of the two years; as a result, a gradual "weaning" may be more fruitful. Just as important, a one-year follow-up would reveal "real" success of JTPA. The six-month follow-up in

the study revealed problems in the JTPA/community college partnership that had not appeared by the three-month follow-up period.

3. The Workforce Development Cabinet for the state should examine ways to provide childcare subsidies for the working class. Once the subsidies for childcare and transportation are removed at the end of the training program, many participants are financially worse off as a taxpaying worker than they were on welfare.
4. JTPA should consider expanding the education timeframe from two to four years of education/training. For the time being, a bachelor's degree is far more economically valuable than an associate for economic success.
5. Many unemployed and underemployed in need of education and training should work while they are enrolled in a program. Perhaps a full-load requirement could be reduced to a half-load requirement per semester, thereby extending the program over a course of four years instead of two.
6. Most important, after implementing a one-year follow-up, JTPA should publish the number of graduates who obtain jobs in their field of training, the starting salary of all the graduates, and the graduates' salaries at the end of the one-year follow-up period. This information should be made available to JTPA participants, so they can make informed decisions concerning their future job or career training. In addition, this important data can provide welfare reform advocates information that will help illuminate the social appeasement that is currently occurring and provide the basis for improvement and change.

Implications for Further Research Opportunities

In July 1999, JTPA was replaced with the Workforce Investment Act (WIA). Bill Gaunce, the Director for Training and ReEmployment for Kentucky said that WIA will be advantageous to the participants. He believes services to this population will be expanded, will be more accessible, and will serve more people. I also spoke with the director of one of the Service Delivery Areas, and she agreed. Under WIA, "one-stop-shops" will be available in every SDA. One building will house all twelve funding streams under one roof. This will prevent duplication of services and will make it easier for the clients to navigate the system. The system consists primarily of three different levels, and it is not limited to low income. This One Stop is for all unemployed and underemployed seeking training or upgrading. Core services are for everybody; anyone can receive help in filling out application, resumes, etc. Plus, all the training agencies will be advertising under this one roof. If the client has no marketable skills, intensive services such as providing tuition, childcare, or transportation will be provided, but the clients will choose their own training with their training voucher. As consumers, they will compare and contrast services, cost, success rate and choose accordingly. After consultation with a caseworker to determine the extent of need, the participant will receive a voucher to "pay" for the training he or she chooses. She anticipates that WIA will result in better and faster coordination of services. Evaluating the efficiency and effectiveness of WIA and its impact on the JTPA population as identified in this study will be an important focus for future research.

In conclusion, what significant findings can be ascertained from a study of four community colleges and sixteen client students? This small sample revealed that client-

students are appreciative for intangible and tangible rewards of the JTPA/community college partnership, as well as for a heightened self-perception, and amelioration of the constraints in their lives. They continued to praise the partnership even when evidence suggested that the JTPA/community partnership had not met their expectations.

Recall from Chapter Two that these individuals were carefully screened for desired workplace attributes such as attitude, motivation, and the belief in the idea of possibility. Perhaps these people could not critique a system that they perceived had given them so much and maintained a silence regarding the shortcomings of job training programs and a credential that provided access to only a low-wage job. In essence, these students became socially appeased—engaging in a voluntary acceptance of the social hierarchy—in exchange for perceived valuable rewards.

While there is an abundance of quantitative research addressing the effects of work training programs, there is a paucity of qualitative research addressing the individual results of work training programs. This study demonstrates that simply looking at results of work training programs is insufficient and inadequate. Simply soliciting individual voices would have been just as inadequate, for what the client-students said conveyed satisfaction. Upon additional analysis, however, this study revealed that the client-students had been appeased. In conclusion, this study suggests that current work training and community college models are inadequate because they do not allow for in-depth analysis of individual results.

APPENDIX A

Client Students By Community College

Client Students by Community Colleges in Kentucky in 1998 (Number and Category)

	Category			
Community Colleges	JTPA	Vocational Rehabilitation	Veterans	Total
Ashland	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Elizabethtown	N/A	N/A	N/A	327
Hazard	71	121	56	248
Henderson	41	0	23	64
Hopkinsville	38	31	199	268
Jefferson (both campuses)	58	160	300	518
Lexington	25	150	25	200
Madisonville	57	30	74	161
Maysville	82	70	09	161
Owensboro	98	26	60	184
Paducah	33	39	75	147
Prestonsburg	93	335	34	468
Somerset	36	57	52	145
Southeast	36	57	52	145
Total Clients	750	1075	1002	2827

Note: Ashland's numbers were not available for this study. Elizabethtown's numbers were available as total only.

APPENDIX B

Participant's Profile

Participant's Profile (By Region, ID#, Name, Gender, Race, Age, Marital Status, Children, Majors)

Region	ID #	Name	Gender	Race	Age	Marital Status	Children	Major
Western Kentucky	1	Kayla	F	C	26	Unmarried	0	Human Services
	2	Erica	F	A	28	Married	0	Bus. Mgt.
	3	Mary	F	C	30	Unmarried	1	Electrical Technology
	4	Janet	F	C	39	Married	3	Office Sys.
	5	Terry	F	C	33	Married	3	Associate of Arts
	6	Anna	F	AA	35	Unmarried	1	Bus. Mgt.
	7	Lori	F	C	42	Unmarried	2	Associate of Arts.
	8	Marsha	F	C	30	Unmarried	1	Office Sys.
Eastern Kentucky	9	Jean	F	C	41	Unmarried	4	Office Sys.
	10	Denise	F	C	45	Unmarried	3	Associate of Arts
	11	Sandy	F	C	25	Unmarried	0	Nursing
	12	Beth	F	C	24	Unmarried	0	Nursing
	13	Rhonda	F	C	36	Unmarried	1	Bus. Mgt.
	14	Hank	M	C	34	Married	3	Nursing
	15	Linda	F	C	28	Unmarried	2	Computer Technology
	16	Ashley	F	C	26	Married	1	Nursing

Note: C = Caucasian; A = Asian; AA = African American.

APPENDIX C

Initial Interview Questions

Interview Questions (Individual)

1. Tell me how you came to be a student at _____College.
2. Is college what you thought it would be like? How so or not?
3. Starting at the beginning when you first found out about JTPA, describe your experience with this program
4. How do you imagine your life next year when JTPA training ends?
5. What have you learned from participating in the JTPA program? Program highlights? Program disappointments? The most important features of the program? The most frustrating or discouraging features of the program?
6. How has your participation in the JTPA program affected your performance in college? (Grades, class participation, confidence)
7. Describe your relationships with your teachers, academic advisor, other students, and JTPA caseworker.
8. In what ways have you changed since you started college?
9. Once you arrive on campus, describe your typical college day.
10. Describe a typical meeting with your JTPA caseworker.
11. How are your roles as a JTPA participant and as a college student compatible or contradictory?
12. Is there a question that I didn't ask that I should have?

Interview Questions—Group Interview (I anticipate these question will change after I conduct individual interviews; for now, they serve merely as an anticipatory guide)

1. Describe the college environment for JTPA students.
2. What is the purpose of JTPA?
3. What is the main purpose of _____Community College?
4. Describe your involvement with other college students on campus.
5. Describe your involvement with other JTPA students.
6. What part of college has been hardest for you? Easiest for you?
7. What factors most influence your college experience? What about the college experience makes you happy? Sad? Frustrated?
8. What changes would you make or what would you do to improve the JTPA program?
9. What changes would you make or what would you do to improve _____Community College?
10. How do you feel about yourself as college students?

Caseworker Interview Questions

1. What do you see as your role in the life of an advisee?
2. Describe a typical relationship with an advisee.
3. Is there a question I didn't ask that I should have?

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APPENDIX D

Data Accounting Records

Participants' Data Accounting Sheet (By Self-Esteem)

	Self-Esteem							
ID #	Grades	Accomplishments	Work	Knowledge	First Generation	Family Validation	Personal Growth	Goals
1	1	6	0	0	1	1	2	6
2	1	6	0	4	0	1	2	2
3	1	4	1	2	1	2	1	2
4	4	3	3	3	1	4	4	3
5	1	2	1	0	0	2	0	1
6	2	6	2	3	0	4	0	7
7	1	4	0	2	1	2	1	8
8	6	2	4	2	0	0	1	3
9	4	1	0	0	1	0	2	2
10	2	2	0	0	1	2	2	2
11	2	1	0	1	0	0	1	3
12	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	5
13	1	2	2	0	1	0	1	3
14	1	0	1	0	0	4	1	5
15	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	3
16	4	2	0	0	1	2	0	2

Participants' Data Accounting Sheet (By Support)

	Support						
ID #	Family	Religion	JTPA	College	Pets	Friends	Employer
1	3	1	7	2	2	3	2
2	5	1	5	3	1	2	0
3	0	0	3	2	2	6	0
4	1	0	7	3	0	1	2
5	4	0	2	3	2	0	1
6	6	1	9	3	0	1	0
7	2	1	4	1	1	1	0
8	0	0	5	4	0	1	2
9	2	1	9	8	1	3	2
10	5	0	6	2	1	1	1
11	0	0	9	2	0	2	0
12	0	0	6	4	2	1	0
13	1	0	6	4	0	0	0
14	1	0	8	3	1	1	1
15	2	0	1	2	0	0	0
16	3	2	7	3	0	0	0

Participants' Data Accounting Sheet (By Support) Con't

	Support			
ID #	Transportation	Childcare	Refuge	Status
1	2	0	0	1
2	0	0	0	1
3	1	0	1	1
4	0	0	1	2
5	1	0	0	1
6	1	0	0	2
7	1	0	1	1
8	1	3	1	1
9	1	0	0	1
10	1	1	0	1
11	1	0	0	1
12	1	0	0	2
13	1	0	0	1
14	0	0	0	0
15	1	1	0	0
16	1	1	1	1

Participants' Data Accounting Sheet (By Constraints)

	Constraints					
ID #	Family	Employer	Health	College	JTPA	Money
1	4	1	3	2	1	2
2	1	2	0	1	1	0
3	4	0	8	0	2	0
4	6	4	0	2	0	1
5	5	2	2	3	7	2
6	6	0	0	2	0	6
7	1	1	0	2	5	3
8	1	1	0	2	0	0
9	13	3	0	8	1	1
10	8	4	0	6	1	2
11	0	2	0	4	2	0
12	3	1	0	4	1	2
13	2	2	0	4	1	0
14	4	6	0	8	3	1
15	5	0	0	5	3	0
16	9	4	2	2	1	5

Participants' Data Accounting Sheet (By Empowerment)

ID #	Acts of Empowerment
1	2
2	10
3	5
4	1
5	4
6	7
7	3
8	8
9	2
10	7
11	7
12	1
13	4
14	2
15	8
16	2

APPENDIX E

Code List

Participants' Data Data Analysis Code List

Self Esteem		Structure	
Grades	SE:Grades	Family	Struc:Family
Accomplishments	SE:Accom	Employer	Struc:Job
Work	SE:Work	Health	Struc:Health
Knowledge	SE:Know	College	Struc: College
First Generation Status	SE:1stGen	JTPA	Struc:JTPA
Home/Family Validation	SE:Validation	Money	Struc:Money
Personal Growth	SE:PerGrowth		
Goals	SE:Goals		

Rewards	
Family	Sup:Fam
Religion	Sup:Church
JTPA	Sup:JTPA
College	Sup:College
Pets	Sup:Pets
Friends	Sup:Friends
Employer	Sup:Work
Transportation	BN:Car
Childcare	BN:Child Care
Refuge	SAF:Refuge
Status	SAF:Status

Note: Agency was coded as Agency

APPENDIX F

Cover Letter

COVER LETTER

September 17, 1998

Dear

Thank you for allowing me to contact you.

I have begun a project that involves talking to JTPA participants who are students at community colleges in Kentucky about their expectations, their perceptions, and their experiences as college students. I am particularly interested in talking to third-semester JTPA students because you have the knowledge and experience that will be valuable to the project. I hope that you will be willing to participate in this project because I need your input.

What I am asking of you is to take part in an interview that will last two hours on one day and two hours on another day. I will then ask for a two-hour follow-up interview one month after the first interview. I will be calling to set up an interview at a time and place that are convenient for you. I will try to call you during the week of September 24-30, 1998.

This is a formal research project under the guidance of Dr. Jeffery Bieber at the University of Kentucky. The interviews will be used in a strictly confidential manner. Nobody besides me will be able to identify who participated in the project or what you have to say. Choosing to take part in the study is, of course, entirely up to you.

I look forward to talking with you soon. Please feel free to call me collect at home if you have any questions about this project.

Sincerely,

Susan Edington, Assoc. Professor
Madisonville Community College
Phone: Work- (502) 821-2250
Home-(502) 821-7965

e-mail: sbeding@pop.uky.edu

APPENDIX G

Consent Forms

Client Students

Susan Edington

IRB Approval
98-10068
THIS FORM VALID
11/16/98 — 11/15/99

CONSENT AGREEMENT

I,_____, agree to participate in the project on JTPA students' experiences conducted by Susan Edington, a graduate student at the University of Kentucky.

Participation in the project will take approximately one hour, during which time I agree to be interviewed about my experiences as a JTPA caseworker.

I agree to have the interview audiotaped. For the purposes of confidentiality, the tape will be kept secured by the researcher for her use only. Any findings from this project will be reported using pseudonyms.

I understand that there are no known risks entailed in participating in the project.

My participation is voluntary. I will not be paid for my participation. I also understand that I can withdraw from the project at any time without penalty.

Should I have any further questions about the research, I can contact Susan Edington (821-2250) or Dr. Jeffery Bieber at the University of Kentucky (606) 257-2795. The Research Subjects Office should be contacted at 606-323-2446 if I have questions about my rights as a research subject.

_____ _____

Participant Signature Date

_____

I have explained this project to the best of my ability and answered any questions raised by the participants about their participation in the research.

_____ _____

Susan Edington Date

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11/16/98 — 11/15/99

Client Students

Susan Edington

Consent for Research Study
"Client Students' Experiences in the Community College"

I,_____, agree to participate in the research study on JTPA (Job Training Partnership Act) students' experiences conducted by Susan Edington, a graduate student at the University of Kentucky. This study is under the direction of Dr. Jeffery Bieber.

The purpose of this research is to understand JTPA students' experiences on a community college campus.

Participation in the project will take approximately six hours, during which time I agree to be interviewed about my experiences as a JTPA student in the community college. The first two-hour interview is individual, the second two-hour interview is in a group with three other JTPA students, and the last two-hour interview is individual to be scheduled about a month after the first individual interview. In preparation for the last interview, I will be asked to take pictures that show my life as a JTPA student. I will talk about my pictures at the last interview. All interviews will take place on the community college campus.

I agree to have the interview audiotaped. For the purpose of confidentiality, the audio-tape, along with the photos, will be kept secured by the researcher for her use only. Any findings from this project will be reported using pseudonyms.

I may be asked to release academic information such as college grades, college placement test results, JTPA qualifying test results, and JTPA progress reports. It is your right to refuse to have any of your academic information released.

I understand that there are no known risks associated with this research.

Participation is voluntary; refusal to participate will involve no penalty or loss of benefits to which I am otherwise entitled. I understand that I may discontinue participation at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which I am otherwise entitled. I will not be paid for my participation.

Should I have any further questions about the research, I can contact Susan Edington (821-2250) or Dr. Jeffery Bieber at the University of Kentucky (606) 257-2795. The Research Subjects Office should be contacted at 606-323-2446 if I have questions about my rights as a research subject.

_____ _____
Participant Signature Date

I have explained this project to the best of my ability and answered any questions raised by the participants about their participation in the research.

_____ _____
Susan Edington Date

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Vita

Susan Bohannon Edington

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Education

Kentucky State University
Frankfort, Kentucky
Bachelor's Degree, May 1978

State University of New York
Plattsburgh, New York
Master's In Secondary Education, 1981

Miami University
Oxford, Ohio
Reading Specialist Certification, 1989

University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky
Educational Policy Studies and Evaluation, 1994-2000

Professional Positions

Associate Professor
Madisonville Community College
Madisonville, KY

Instructor
Miami University-Hamilton
Hamilton, Ohio

Teacher
Ross High School
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Instructor
Clinton Community College
Plattsburgh, New York

Teacher
Eminence Independent Schools
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Professional Honors

1999 Hopkins County Community College Teacher of the Year

1997-98 UKCCS Leadership Academy

1993-95 UKCCS Senate

1987 Ross School District Teacher of the Year

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